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Translating Catalan Cinema: The Functions of Multilingualism and their Representation in Subtitling

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

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Lay Summary

Subtitling norms and guidelines have traditionally encouraged a strategy of invisibility, whereby subtitles are so unobtrusive that the viewer forgets they are reading them. This strategy has become entrenched in the subtitling industry, but is now being challenged as consumers become more screen-literate and relate to visual media in a more interactive way. The clearest example of this is in fansubbing, where a programme's viewers create their own amateur subtitles, often using more creative strategies than professional subtitlers.

Bilingual and multilingual films present a challenge to conventional subtitling norms as the requirement to translate two or more spoken languages into one written language demands more information than is usually provided in traditional pared-down "invisible" subtitles. However, rather than make any attempt to indicate the language variation, the presence of multiple languages is often disregarded by subtitlers. Multilingualism in films has a variety of functions, including realism, comedic effects, characterisation and plot development, so there are many cases in which the presence of multiple languages should be highlighted in translation as it can be intrinsic to a film's plot or themes.

In the context of Catalan cinema, Catalan and Castilian often coexist in dialogues in a way that reflects the socio-linguistic reality of the region, where many people are bilingual and use both languages in their daily lives. The use of each language can also denote nationalist or political beliefs as well as providing a stylistic tool for filmmakers. This thesis focuses on three case studies of Catalan films in which the functions of bilingualism and multilingualism range from political protest to disruption of realism. A combination of contextual and multimodal analysis sheds light on the ways in which multilingualism contributes to the Source Text by showing how it works in conjunction with the films' other meaning-making modes, and how or to what extent this is represented in the Target Text, the English subtitled version. If multilingualism is an integral part of the Source Text, and its effects are not compensated for in the Target Text by other modes, then it should be maintained in subtitling. Moreover, and particularly in light of the innovations currently making their way into the industry, subtitling could be used creatively to add another layer to the film's style or themes, as well as reflecting what is already there. This thesis advocates a more considered approach to translating multilingual films, with subtitles that are more appropriate to each individual film.

Abstract

Subtitling norms and guidelines have traditionally encouraged a strategy of invisibility, whereby subtitles are so unobtrusive that the viewer forgets they are reading them. This strategy has become entrenched in the subtitling industry, but is now being challenged as consumers become more screen-literate and relate to visual media in a more interactive way. The clearest example of this is in fansubbing, where a programme's viewers create their own amateur subtitles, often using more creative strategies than professional subtitlers.

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Table of Contents

Abbreviations

AMB Metropolitan Area of Barcelona

ANC Catalan National Assembly

AVT Audiovisual Translation

CBE Culture-Bound Element

ECR Extra-linguistic Cultural Reference

MLV Multiple Language Version

PPLL Plataforma Per La Llengua

SA Source Audience

SC Source Culture

SL Source Language

ST Source Text

TA Target Audience

TC Target Culture

TL Target Language

TT Target Text

UGT User-Generated Translation

List of Figures

Introduction

Catalan cinema has enjoyed significant success in recent years. In 2010, *Pa negre* (*Black Bread*) (Agustí Villaronga) was the first Catalan language film to win the overall prize (as well as nine others) at the Goya awards, the Spanish national film awards. It was also selected to represent Spain at the 84th Academy Awards, even though most of its dialogue is in Catalan rather than Castilian. The success of *Pa negre* was replicated in 2018, with *Estiu 1993* (*Summer 1993*) (Carla Simón), another Catalan language film, selected as Spain's official submission for the 90th Academy Awards. Increasing international interest in Catalan cinema has also resulted in various film festivals in the UK and elsewhere, including *SCAT* (Scotland's Catalan film festival, with screenings in Glasgow and Edinburgh)[1], *Camera Catalonia* in Cambridge[2] and a section devoted to Catalan cinema at the London Spanish Film Festival[3]. Elsewhere, Catalan films have been screened at international film festivals in cities including Berlin[4], Seattle[5] and Toronto[6].

In the early years of cinema, Barcelona was a filmmaking hub in Spain, but the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) put an end to this short-lived success. The first sound film in the world was made in 1927, and this innovation did not reach Spain until 1932, so spoken dialogue had barely been heard in films before the Civil War broke out, and the Catalan language was subsequently forbidden from public life by Franco's dictatorship. After Franco's death in 1975, and the transition to democracy, the use of Catalan in public life experienced a dramatic resurgence. It was made a co-official language of the region in 1979, and the Generalitat, the Government of

1 This festival was held in November 2018, organised by Cinemaattic, an organisation that promotes independent Spanish and Latin American cinema. Details: https://cinemaattic.com/scat-scotland-catalan-film-festival-18/

2 Camera Catalonia has run for seven years in Cambridge, as part of the Cambridge Film Festival. Details at: https://www.cambridgefilmfestival.org.uk/strands/camera-catalonia

3 This festival took place annually from 2004-2015 and also included a section on Basque cinema. https://www.britishspanishsociety.org/event/10th-london-spanish-film-festival/

4 The 68th edition of the Berlinale, the Berlin International Film Festival, screened five Catalan films in 2018. https://www.llull.cat/english/actualitat/actualitat_noticies_detall.cfm?id=35057&url=the-berlin-international-film-festival-to-show-five-catalan-films.html

5 The 44th Seattle International Film Festival, held in May and June 2018, included nine Catalan films: https://www.llull.cat/offices/newyork/actualitat_detall.cfm?id=35620&url=catalan-films-at-seattle-international-film-festival.html

6 *Estiu 1993* was shown at the Toronto Spanish Film Festival in October 2018: https://www.spainculture.ca/city/toronto/2018-toronto-spanish-film-festival/

Catalonia, has since imposed many measures to increase the use of the language. For instance, the educational policy of immersion, which began in the 1980s, has been particularly effective, because it means that all children in Catalonia receive a proportion of their lessons in the language (Miller and Miller, 1996).

Catalan has co-official status with Castilian in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and Valencia (where it is known as Valencian), and is the only official language of Andorra. It is also spoken in an area of France known as Catalunya del Nord (Northern Catalonia), parts of Aragon, and the city of Alghero in Sardinia. This research project focuses on language use in films made in Catalonia. Regarding terminology, Catalan has often been described as a "minority" or "minoritized" language (Woolard, 2008; Aguilar-Amat and Santamaria, 2000). Following Cronin (1998) the term "minority" can be treated as a dynamic concept, depending on the context. The European Charter for Minority and Regional Languages excludes languages with official status (Council of Europe, 1992). Given the dynamic nature of minority categorisation, this means that Catalan is not a minority language in Catalonia, although in other parts of Spain and further afield it could be described as such. Moreover, since the concept is flexible and relational (Cronin, 1998) there are some cases where Castilian could be described as the minority language in relation to Catalan, for example in a film in which the majority of the dialogue is in Catalan. Leaving aside definitions and categorisations, the coexistence of the languages in Catalonia and in its cinema presents challenges to translators, and provides opportunities to examine the functions of multilingualism in films. Where I have quoted from Catalan or Castilian sources in translation, the translations are my own.

The linguistic landscape of Catalonia is multilingual, as nearly all Catalan speakers are entirely able to operate in Castilian, and many habitual Castilian speakers are able to understand Catalan (not to mention the many other languages spoken by immigrants who have settled in the region). Many people speak Catalan and Castilian interchangeably in their daily lives, codeswitching during conversations and making linguistic choices based on their interlocutors and situations. In cultural life, Catalan has been strongly promoted in television, radio and cinema, with financial and political support for its inclusion in the arts (Villarroya, 2012). The presence of spoken Catalan in films, after many decades of absence, presents an

opportunity for Catalan filmmakers to have their own voices heard and to make multilingual films that reflect the linguistic reality of their region. However, despite the many events on Catalan cinema, this is unlikely to be fully appreciated by UK audiences. The films, which often mix Catalan and Castilian, are subtitled for an Anglophone audience, and the constraints and conventions of subtitling mean that "extraneous" information, such as the language of an utterance, is not easily conveyed. It is in this context that this thesis began. It aims to examine the effects of monolingual English subtitles on bilingual and multilingual films set in Catalonia, by looking at case studies of three films made between 2009 and 2012. It will examine whether there is any indication of the presence of both languages in the English subtitles, and will consider the functions of multilingualism in the Source Text (ST), and analyse how and to what extent these functions are represented in the Target Text (TT), the English subtitled version.

Chapter One discusses the dominant norms and traditions in subtitling, which privilege a strategy of "invisibility", whereby subtitles are kept visually and linguistically as unobtrusive as possible. The practical constraints of subtitling, in which there is limited space for the text, and a set amount of time for viewers to read it, have encouraged a tradition of simplifying and reducing dialogue to the minimum. Idiosyncrasies, dialectal and idiolectal indicators are ironed out, and speech, a key element of characterisation, is standardised. This has particular implications for multilingual films, in which the diegetic and extradiegetic decisions regarding which languages to include in conversations, and in scenes, are often highly significant. The popularity of creative solutions seen in areas such as fansubbing indicate that there is both scope and demand for subtitles that provide more information about the Source Culture (SC) in visually innovative ways. Moreover, the ideas for creative collaboration put forward in the concept of accessible filmmaking show the possibilities for subtitles and audiovisual translation (AVT) in general to be treated as creative filmmaking tools, rather than processes to be outsourced by distributors.

Multilingualism and translation have always been present in cinema in one form or another. Before the development of cost-effective subtitling and dubbing technologies, studios would film multiple language versions (MLVs) substituting actors and directors from different countries on the same set. The intention was to

hide the fact of translation and to pretend that each audience was watching a film in its original form. Anglophone audiences have colluded with this deception ever since, suspending disbelief to watch characters from all over the world and at any point in time conversing comfortably in English. However, this practice is becoming less common as filmmakers choose to represent languages more realistically, for example in *L'Auberge Espagnole* (*Pot Luck*) (Cédric Klapisch, 2002) and *Inglorious Basterds* (Quentin Tarantino, 2009). Chapter Two describes the various ways multilingualism has been represented in films, from "audio-postcarding" (Wahl, 2008), in which a few words in a foreign language are inserted into the dialogue for a touch of exoticism, to "vehicular matching" (O'Sullivan, 2011), which attempts to represent language use accurately. Multilingualism fulfils a variety of stylistic functions, including characterisation, mimesis, suspense and comic effect. This chapter establishes the thematic importance of multilingualism and discusses various techniques for representing it in subtitles. My research differs in both direction and focus from many existing studies on multilingual films, because of the direction of translation. Due to the dominance of Hollywood films internationally, and the more general hegemony of English as a lingua franca, much research focuses on translation out of English, while this project looks at translation into English. More specifically, in terms of multilingual films, much scholarship focuses on migrant and diasporic voices, whereas this project examines cinema from a region with two official languages, thus multilingualism is present in a different way to migrant films.

Chapter Three provides an overview of the development of Catalan cinema, within the context of the history of Catalan culture and particularly language. Sociological data about the use of Catalan, particularly in relation to Castilian, provides a backdrop against which to study how this linguistic situation has been represented in Catalan films. Of particular note are films that engage politically with language use, such as *El amante bilingüe* (*The Bilingual Lover*) (Vicente Aranda, 1993) and *Salvador* (Manuel Huerga, 2006). Characteristics that feature often in Catalan cinema, such as adaptation from novels or plays, historical themes, and the use of the city of Barcelona as a "character" are discussed. The three case studies introduced in this chapter, the aforementioned *Pa negre, Fènix 11.23* (*Phoenix 11.23*) (Joel Joan

and Sergi Lara, 2012) and *V.O.S,* which means "Original Subtitled Version", (Cesc Gay, 2009) all exhibit different features common to Catalan films, with *Pa negre*'s post-Civil War setting in rural Catalonia, *Fènix 11.23*'s strong lingua-political activism and *V.O.S.*' subject matter of two middle-class couples navigating interpersonal relationships against the backdrop of Barcelona.

The interlingual transition from speech to writing entailed by subtitling results in what Henrik Gottlieb (1994) terms "diagonal translation" because of the shift in semiotic modes across languages. An understanding of multimodality is therefore necessary for studying subtitles, which work in conjunction with the other meaning-making modes present in the ST. Chapter Four presents a methodology for conducting the case studies that takes multimodal theory into account for close analysis of key scenes in the three films chosen, as well as parameters for their contextual and paratextual analysis, including reception, adaptation and the films' historical and socio-cultural positions. All of these factors together shed light on the reasons for the presence of multilingualism and the roles it performs in each film. This helps to determine to what extent it should be conveyed in the TT, and close multimodal analysis illuminates to what extent multilingualism is represented in the translation.

Chapter Five focuses on *Pa negre,* which is an adaptation of Emili Teixidor's novel of the same name, and follows a young boy as he tries to understand the dark, violent world surrounding him in the years after the Spanish Civil War. The film's position in the genre of Spanish films about the Civil War with child protagonists is examined using contextual and paratextual analysis. Most of the characters exclusively speak Catalan, except in four scenes where Castilian is present. By including Castilian in scenes involving the authorities, and surrounding traumatic events, the film engages with the theme of language and power and also portrays characters' development through its language variation.

In Chapter Six I examine *Fènix 11.23*, a film that engages with the politics of multilingualism in Catalonia and how language policy has affected the residents of the region. The film is based on real events: in 2004, 14 year old Èric Bertran was accused of terrorism after he was arrested for sending an email demanding that

supermarkets label their products in Catalan. An activist for the Catalan language, Èric obviously speaks Catalan with his family and acquaintances, and clearly views language use as intrinsic to his Catalan identity. The majority of the film is in Catalan, and it was made with some collaboration from Bertran himself, who frequently visited the set, and clearly supports his cause. The film is therefore partial towards the Catalan language, but in the service of authenticity it includes Castilian in scenes with police or the judiciary. Not only is this an authentic representation of the situations; the linguistic separation also serves to underscore the sense of opposition between the two sets of people. Language is the scene for much of the power play: at many points the young Èric defiantly speaks Catalan when addressed in Castilian by officials.

Chapter Seven presents the third and final case study. *V.O.S.* also engages with the subject of multilingual films and translation in a deliberate manner, but it is a much more light-hearted film. It is based on a 2005 play of the same title by Carol López. This playful film does not engage with multilingualism in a political way, but uses multilingualism for comedy, characterisation and even at times to subvert realism. This is a film about filmmaking, and the director uses various devices, language variation among them, to distance the viewer. Characters switch frequently, and, for the most part, easily between Catalan and Castilian. A small amount of Basque is also present, though only in a few scenes. The use of multiple languages contributes to character development and works together with other aspects of the film to distance the viewer from the story and to highlight the filmmaking process. Multilingualism is used stylistically in conjunction with other filmmaking tools, and multimodal analysis illustrates how this is achieved in the ST in comparison with the TT. For these reasons the film would benefit from subtitles that highlight the presence of the languages and the process of translation, particularly because "Subtitled" is in the film's name.

In multilingual films, subtitling has the potential to be used creatively in conjunction with other filmmaking tools to properly represent the languages involved and to enhance the film's aesthetic style as well as translate its content. In order to judge whether this would be beneficial, it would be ideal if translators could consult with and collaborate with filmmakers, throughout the production process. Where this is

not possible, an awareness of the overarching style or themes of the film in question and an understanding of how meaning is built by various semiotic modes would be helpful to a subtitler. By showing how multilingualism is used in three very different Catalan films, this thesis aims to draw attention to the importance of multilingualism as an element of subject matter and as a filmmaking device, because if multilingualism can be used as a creative tool, the translation of multilingualism should be able to reflect this.

Chapter One: Conventions, Practicalities and Innovations in Subtitling

1.1 Introduction

Subtitles occupy a contradictory space between the world of the film and the world of the viewer. They are a channel through which to get closer to the film, that is, to understand dialogue in other languages, but they can simultaneously seem to leave the viewer further removed or distanced, because the presence of text across the screen is a distraction from and obstruction of the world within the frame. As the filmmaker Peter Thompson (2000) argues, subtitles are an "intrusion" into the diegetic space and as such, they break the connection between viewer and film, yet the viewer would be unable to understand the film without them. They therefore both facilitate and disrupt the connection between the viewer and the film. Thompson's repeated use of the word "intrusion" in his description of subtitles indicates that for him they are an unwelcome imposition which is separate from and spoils the visual space of the film. The film theorist Amresh Sinha notes the widely-held view that subtitles are an "evil necessity, a product conceived as an afterthought, rather than a natural component of the film" and notes that many people see them as a "barrier" inhibiting their experience of the film (2004: 174). He adds that they remain "pariahs, outsiders, in exile from the imperial territoriality of the visual regime" (Sinha: 2004: 173). Their awkward status is compounded, he argues, by their position at the bottom of the screen, which metaphorically shows their "contemptuously lower status" (2004: 174). As well as their physical position on the screen, contradictions can also be found in the figurative position occupied by subtitles within the filmmaking and film translation industry. As Fong notes, "they can make or break a film when it enters a foreign market" (2009: 91), but, despite their crucial importance to film exportation, comparatively little time or money is dedicated to their creation (Romero-Fresco, 2013). When spoken dialogue originally began to be included in films, adding subtitles to a film did cause problems for filmmakers: Ivarsson describes how, with the old "optical method" for combining the film and titles together, there would often be a "loss of focus and substantial increase in noise level" due to the need to re-photograph the whole film to obtain a negative

to work on, which would be "a serious drawback in the early days of sound films" (2009: 5). So subtitles could and did get in the way of the film in a significant way, and meant compromising on both image and sound quality. As technology has advanced, this is no longer a concern, but subtitling is still treated as an afterthought rather than an asset by many filmmakers. Perhaps the attitudes of filmmakers and critics are slower to develop than technology.

Subtitles are supposed to pass almost unnoticed by the viewer, not to draw attention to themselves or distract attention from the visual action. A consequence of this is that there is little room for manoeuvre when it comes to devising solutions for atypical films, such as those with multilingual dialogue. However, with increasing global patterns of migration and multicultural communities, instances of multilingualism in films is on the rise, and research in AVT is increasing as a response to this. This research project examines the challenges and problems with subtitling bilingual and multilingual films. It aims to elaborate more creative techniques for translating multilingual films in ways that are suitable to each film's stylistic and thematic requirements. Before suggesting any potentially innovative methods, however, it is first necessary to gain an understanding of what is generally expected of subtitles by viewers, filmmakers, translators and scholars. This chapter will begin by discussing the dominant conventions of invisibility in the subtitling industry and how this affects subtitles' style, and the working conditions of professional subtitlers (Section 1.2). Section 1.3 introduces the new technologies that have brought about new ways of interacting with audiovisual media, leading to innovations in subtitling including fansubbing and other creative practices, which will be discussed in Section 1.4. Subtitles that respond creatively to the style and content of a film can be created relatively easily; this chapter argues that subtitles should be seen as an asset to, and an integral part of films, rather than an afterthought. Section 1.5, on Accessible Filmmaking, details subtitles can be created that are more in harmony with the content of a film.

1.2 Conventional Subtitling Style and Practice

1.2.1 Invisibility

Conventional subtitles are understood to be aiming for unobtrusiveness, in order not to distract the viewer from the film. This seems logical, as subtitles should be easy to read while still allowing the audience to see the visual elements of the film. As Georgakopoulou argues, "they need to comply with certain levels of readability and be as concise as necessary in order not to distract the viewer's attention from the programme" (2009: 21). However, if we accept this idea that subtitles distract us *from* a programme or film, we must accept that subtitles are not *part of* the programme. Subtitles, especially for viewers watching films in other languages or for the deaf and hard-of-hearing (SDH), are as indispensable as the image, because they present such a large part of the film's meaning. They can therefore be seen to be as much a part of the film as the images, the music, or the soundtrack, and this view of subtitles could therefore change both the way we think of them, and consequently the way they are created; if they are truly seen as part of the film, they could be less of an afterthought, and given more money and time, as argued by Romero Fresco (2013).

It is taken for granted by people in the subtitling and filmmaking industries that the mark of a good subtitle, is, somewhat ironically, its lack of any mark: subtitler Naomi Tyler, when discussing her job, accepts without question that "the subtitler should remain a vital yet unnoticed element of broadcasting" (2014: online). Journalist David Wagner agrees, noting that "the best subtitles are the ones that make you forget you're reading subtitles in the first place" (2012: online). Peter Thompson also explicitly states that subtitles should hide their presence: "[t]he goal of subtitles is for them to be "invisible" as text because they are *felt* to be speech" (2000). The demand for subtitles to be invisible is thus voiced across the industry, by filmmakers, subtitlers, and critics. The demand for invisibility has also been identified by Audiovisual Translation (AVT) theorists. Indeed, Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez describe this as "one of the golden rules" that subtitlers must follow (2006: 47). This sentiment is echoed in many scholars' comments, for example.

> "A central characteristic of a good subtitle is that the viewer does not even notice that she is reading it" (Jokelainen 2009: 200).
>
> *"Subtitles are said to be most successful when they are not noticed by the viewer". (Georgakopoulou 2009: 21).*

> *"Ideally, viewers should be unaware of the fact that they are reading and be able to simultaneously watch the film, read the subtitles, and enjoy it" (Chiaro 2013: 4).*

The demand for invisibility manifests itself both visually, in terms of subtitles' unassuming presentation and position at the bottom of the screen, and linguistically. The need for simplification enforced by the format of subtitles usually leads to standardisation of language, and effectively leads to a loss of nuances and unique voices, caused by stripping utterances down to conform to character limit and reading speed. This is noted by Fong, who observes the "loss of colour and specificity" and the "characterisation void" that is often the result of subtitles (2009: 94). Delia Chiaro's discussion of the steps involved in conventional subtitling- elimination, rendering, and condensation- draws attention to the way this approach reduces utterances to their most basic level of meaning, removing the subtleties added by features such as "taboo items, slang, and dialect" (2013: 4). Moreover, Pérez González argues that "commercial subtitling fosters cultural and linguistic standardisation by ironing non-mainstream identities out of the translated narrative" (2007: 264). Professional subtitlers have "little room for manoeuvre when dealing with the subtleties of social, ideological and cultural diversity" (Pérez González, 2007: 265). Conventional subtitles therefore may be inadequate for providing a detailed picture of a character's status or background, eliding information from their voices and speech, such as dialect or slang- or even another language altogether- that might give these clues. Indeed, Díaz-Pérez (2018) observed that the English subtitles of Pedro Almodóvar's films consistently standardised, sanitised or omitted linguistic markers of identity and characterisation, such as dialectal features, swearing or "gayspeak". As argued by Díaz-Pérez, Almodóvar uses language features as a characterisation device, to reflect "not only geographical origin, but also social class, gender, or even sexual orientation" (2018: 97). In his films, a non-standard or geographically marked Castilian is generally used by "common people who tend to be imbued with positive traits, such as solidarity or honesty" (Díaz-Pérez, 2018). In the Target Language (TL) subtitles, geographical dialectal features tend to become "standard English with some occasional colloquialisms" (Díaz-Pérez 2018). Swearwords, which, as Díaz-Pérez argues, are used in Almodóvar's films to

challenge “male-chauvinistic conceptions related to women”, are frequently omitted, or are replaced by weaker swearwords in the Target Language (2018: 110). Finally, the linguistic features that identify the gay community are “much less evident in the Target Text than in the Source Text, which has an obvious effect on characterization” (Díaz-Pérez 2018). Almodóvar is one the Spain’s best-known filmmakers in the context of Anglophone viewers, and Díaz-Pérez’ study indicates that many key features of his work are omitted by invisible subtitles. It illustrates the argument that the visual unobtrusiveness of standard subtitles is accompanied by verbal conservatism, and that, as such, standard subtitling often entails a loss of meaning.

Abe Mark Nornes expresses his profound dissatisfaction with standard subtitling practices in very dramatic terms, describing the effect of conventional subtitles in terms of “violence” (2007: 155). In the process of appropriating the ST to the rules and conventions of the subtitle, the text ends up being domesticated, being made to conform to the “rules, regulations, idioms, and frame of reference of the target language and its culture” (Nornes 2007: 155). Conventional subtitling thus seems to provide a view of a different culture while actually removing traces of the foreign from the ST (Nornes 2007: 155). In this system, “all forms of difference are suppressed and troublesome texts are fitted into the most conservative of frameworks” (Nornes 2007: 156). This sentence could be interpreted from a pragmatic perspective: complex texts are made to fit strict subtitling constraints, such as viewers’ reading speeds and character limits. However, it could be interpreted in a more ideological, theoretical sense: in fitting it to these conventions, a “troublesome” text can be ideologically neutralised. While Nornes mainly focuses on the linguistic rather than the stylistic aspects of subtitling, his emphasis is on visibility and against the standardisation of commercial subtitles. He champions “abusive subtitling”, which aims to “direct spectators back to the original text” (2007: 185) through “experimentation with language and its grammatical, morphological, and visual qualities” (2007: 176-177). This form of subtitling means that subtitles take on a crucial role in a film, and can be more linguistically adventurous and creative, in order to reflect the tone and content of the dialogue more dynamically. Nornes has adapted some of the ideas of abusive translation (Lewis, 1985) and applied them to

the specific situation of subtitling, in order to address what he sees as the problem of "corrupt", that is standard, subtitling (2007: 155).

Rebecca McClarty also discusses the inadequacy of conventional subtitling, noting that it has been constrained by practical issues and a rigid methodology (2012). She argues that texts such as the *Code of Good Subtitling Practice*, devised by Carroll and Ivarsson and endorsed by the European Association for Studies in Screen Translation in 1998, which aim to provide guidelines to help subtitlers negotiate the technical and practical difficulties of the process, have become powerful sets of rules, which restrict subtitlers from experimentation, despite "increased awareness of the need to develop subtitling practices along with new technologies" (McClarty, 2012: 135). Though the guidelines were intended to ensure quality and be instructive, it is now so difficult to deviate from their norms that they have become "a powerhouse that it is difficult to escape" (McClarty, 2012: 136). However, the *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* itself does not actually encourage "invisibility". Indeed, Carroll and Ivarsson's main consideration is to ensure that translation quality is high and they even advise "due consideration of all idiomatic and cultural nuances" (1998: 1). This "due consideration" is not always apparent in commercial subtitling, and may be in some part due to the fact that translators often have little time to work and lack the opportunity of researching the ST.

1.2.2 The Practicalities of Subtitling

The outsourcing process, in which translations are commissioned by distributors (rather than filmmakers) is another factor that affects the overall style and standard of subtitles. As David Wagner notes, unsatisfactory subtitles "are all too common, and they can completely alter a viewer's understanding of a film" (2012: online). A key reason Wagner identifies for this is the outsourcing of subtitles to contractors of varying quality. He argues that a lack of budget and unreasonable deadlines cause problems, suggesting that "[I]f you're willing to pay translators well and give them a reasonable deadline, you can certainly get good subtitles" (2012: online). Sinha also lays the blame on outsourcing and a lack of communication, as well as unrealistic

deadlines and a lack of recognition and low status for subtitlers (2004: 177). Although Sinha wrote this fifteen years ago, the situation has not improved. Outsourcing causes problems and dissatisfaction among viewers and filmmakers, yet it still happens despite the large proportion of most films' revenue that comes from international distribution (Romero-Fresco, 2013: 202). Such a mind-set affects the quality of translation, as translators often have short deadlines, "little money and … no access to any of the people who have made the film" (2013: 218). This is despite the optimistic advice in the *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* that "[S]ubtitlers must always work with a copy of the production and, if possible, a dialogue list and glossary of atypical words and special references" (Carroll and Ivarsson, 1998). Therefore, a school of subtitling which is meant to be unobtrusive and purports to respect film as an artistic, almost sacred, medium, can actually be completely at odds with the film's style, if made by a translator who has not seen it, with little time to work. Bartoll (2006) and Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) both point out that subtitlers often have limited time, and they frequently have access only to a dialogue list without the film, only see certain scenes with dialogue and not the film as a whole, or they have to work from the soundtrack without a dialogue list. Ideally, they should have both an official dialogue list and a copy of the film in case of any dialogue changes during shooting. Díaz Cintas and Remael explain that these files might be withheld from subtitlers in order to prevent illegal copies from being made, or simply because of tight release dates meaning that the film is still being finished while the subtitles are being created (2007: 31). Subtitlers working for film festivals often have particularly short turnaround times, even overnight (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 39). Discussing the working conditions of subtitlers in Italy, Elena Di Giovanni observes that rates paid to professional subtitlers are decreasing, "occasionally forcing them to a take-it-or-leave-it choice," indicating that translators have little scope to determine both their working conditions and the jobs they accept (2018: 25). Amanda Grønningsæter Grongstad's study of the subtitlers working in Norway (2016) supports claims that many subtitlers are given unrealistically short deadlines, and that their insecure freelance employment situation and stagnant rates mean that they have to work very fast to make a secure living, leading to increasingly poor quality subtitles. The subtitlers she interviewed noted that

“technology has made the work easier, but that it has led to an expectation of more rapid working speed”, and they stressed a sense of isolation, feeling unable to communicate with their employers or colleagues, “insane” time pressure, and an overall sense that employers were compromising on quality to save money (Grongstad, 2016: 30).

It can be argued that the drive towards invisibility and standardisation has developed from the separation between the film industry and the AVT industry. In the past, in the era of silent films and later of multiple language versions, translation was an “integral part of the industry” (Romero-Fresco, 2013: 205). However, as dubbing and subtitling technologies improved they were seen as a more affordable option, and translation was outsourced and not overseen by the filmmakers, meaning that “translations lost their status as part of the filmmaking process and became part of the distribution process, as is the case now” (Romero-Fresco 2013: 205). The American DVD subtitles for the Swedish film *Let the Right One In* (Alfredson: 2008) provide an illustration of the problems this can cause. There was widespread dissatisfaction with these subtitles, which were commissioned by the American distributor Magnet Films. It was believed that the DVD subtitles had been oversimplified and “dumbed down” in comparison with the cinema subtitles, “losing all the power” of the script, to the dismay of fans who had enjoyed the subtitled film in cinemas (*Icons of Fright,* 2009: online). It is not just the viewers who were disappointed: the director Tomas Alfredson also expressed his dissatisfaction with these amended, more basic subtitles (Triches, 2009: online). A more recent example of subtitling that goes against the filmmaker’s wishes is Alfonso Cuarón’s 2018 film, *Roma*. This film, set in the Colonia Roma neighbourhood of Mexico City, was nominated for ten Academy Awards, including Best Picture. However, Cuarón has called the Netflix’ subtitles for Spanish viewers “ignorant and offensive” because they changed the language from Mexican Spanish to peninsular, Castilian Spanish, rather than maintaining the word choices of the original dialogue (*BBC,* 2019: online). After anger from audiences, and from Cuarón himself, Netflix changed the subtitle option, and dropped subtitles from cinema screenings in Spain (*BBC,* 2019: online). Díaz Cintas, speaking to the BBC, said that Netflix’ decision to use the European language variant indicated a “parochial approach” that had colonialist

connotations (2019: online). This episode shows that translation decisions made by the distributor can affect the film as a whole and go against a filmmaker's wishes for that film.

1.3 Technological Advances in Audiovisual Media and Subtitling

As established above, technology has had a detrimental effect on quality in terms of unrealistic expectations for subtitlers, but it is also enabling more creativity in AVT, both because of better access to subtitling software, and increased screen literacy among viewers, meaning that they are able to process subtitles that are more innovative in terms of both form and content. People are now watching subtitled materials more frequently than ever, and there are grounds for revisiting AVT conventions. Szarkowska and Gerber-Morón's eye-tracking study shows that many viewers are more comfortable now with faster subtitles and even have problems with subtitles that are too slow, which cause re-reading and disruption, leading to "more frustration and less enjoyment" (2018: 1). Subtitle speeds and conventions could be adapted to make subtitles faster, in line with a more screen-literate society, which would therefore obviate the need for condensation and omission of content. Szarkowska and Gerber-Morón found that the "six-second rule" which was the traditional time period allowed for a full-length two-line subtitle, was too long for modern viewers and led to them looking at other areas of the screen and then back to find the same subtitle still there, causing disruption of their suspension of disbelief (2018: 3). In contrast, viewers were "able to cope even with very fast subtitle speeds" having time to both read the text and watch the action elsewhere on the screen (Szarkowska and Gerber-Morón, 2018: 24). This leads to the conclusion that "there is no trade-off between image processing and subtitle processing" (Szarkowska and Gerber-Morón, 2018: 4). It appears that traditional subtitling conventions overestimate the cognitive load of subtitles on modern viewers. This means that there is less of a need for subtitles to follow the guidelines of invisibility than previously thought.

Advances in technology and the increased and changing use of the internet mean that subtitled texts are approached in different ways, by both viewers and practitioners.

Viewers, as Gambier notes, increasingly access films on DVDs rather than at the cinema, and even more so through the internet, "therefore changes in norms are to be expected" (2006: 4). This change in habits has had an effect on the way viewers consume subtitles; for instance, in DVDs there is a higher character limit per line of subtitles than for the cinema, which means that more information can be included and easily read by the audience. Partly as a result of the internet and the more active way viewers approach media, the top-down process of production has become much more democratic, with producers and distributors taking note of viewers' preferences. The media are now more consumer oriented; much promotion and consultation is carried out online, small independent films are more widely seen through channels such as YouTube, and crowdfunding projects like Kickstarter mean that consumers even have a say in what gets produced. This all supports Pérez González's statement that "the power of media consumers is set to grow further in the future" (2007: 275). With the technology available so easily online, translation could become far more consumer led, as people's relationship with film and television takes on an "on demand" dynamic. Additionally, viewers are in control of the speed at which they watch films at home, that is, they can pause or rewind scenes if they choose to, which is something that fansubbers in particular have taken advantage of, by including more visually challenging and densely detailed subtitles, as discussed in Section 1.4. In part due to this increased flexibility from viewers, and in part due to more advanced software becoming readily available online, professional and amateur subtitlers can use visually innovative methods that manipulate the whole text differently.

These technological developments have made it possible to approach texts and their subtitles in a different way. The way in which consumers approach audiovisual products is generally computer mediated and interactive, and fansubbing and amateur translation in particular is an example of how this is eroding the divide between media consumers and producers. Minako O'Hagan notes that the "nature of fandom [has] changed from that of passive spectators to active 'prosumers'" (2009: 99). That is, fans became both producers and consumers of culture. Di Giovanni also observes that "the notions of producers and receivers are often blurred" due to the receivers' increased agency (2018: 20). While it is only a small proportion of

consumers who actively take part in the mediation of a cultural product, through fansubbing, for instance, audiences in general are less passive than they have historically been. With a near-infinite amount of choice in products to stream at home at any time, rather than having to go to cinema screenings or watch television when it is broadcast, viewers choose how they experience media, and can select, for instance, between different translation modes for one programme. As Pérez González notes, for most of the 20th century, film-viewing was "an unalterable, collective and fleeting experience afforded by industrialized machinery in purpose-built venues" which made it difficult for audiences to actively process and participate in the creation of meaning, but "developments in digital media technologies are now allowing viewers to archive, manipulate and recirculate media content – in such a way that each personal copy of an audiovisual text now has the potential to provide a unique reading experience" (2012: 7). Moreover, the sophisticated subtitling software that has become available online allows fansubbers "to enrich the viewer's reading experience by introducing additional layers of representational and affective content or insinuating their own interpretation of the ST through annotations and glosses displayed all over the frame" (Pérez González, 2012: 7). This has led to changes in conceptions of subtitles' ideal purposes and style.

1.4 Amateur Subtitling

This section will focus on amateur subtitling, particularly fansubbing, and will discuss the context which has given rise to its development, as well as the process of its creation before examining some of its effects on the AVT industry in general. Before engaging in discussion certain terms need to be clarified. While most amateur subtitling of films or television programmes is created by fans, the term "fansubbing" generally connotes a specific kind of amateur subtitling, which originated with the translation of Japanese manga cartoons into English for a generally North American audience. Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez define fansubs as "a fan-produced, translated, subtitled version of a Japanese *animé* programme" (2006: 37), while Pérez González writes that the term was "originally coined to designate the work of amateur subtitlers who, unhappy with the shortage of English

commercial translations of Japanese *animé*, and their cultural insensitivity, set out to translate selected productions of their favourite dramas and make them available to global audiences" (2012: 6). The phenomenon, and use of the term, has now expanded to refer to translation by amateurs of other types of television series, and originating in countries other than Japan (Szu-Wen Kung, 2016). However, there is a distinction between fansubbing in its strictest use of the term, and any type of subtitles created by a volunteer. Fansubs are created with a specific style and ethos, which will be detailed in Section 1.4.2, and therefore I do not think this term can apply to conventional subtitles which look similar to professional subtitles, if the only difference is that they were not created by a professional. In this project I will use the term "fansubbing" to refer to subtitles which fall stylistically into this stricter category, although they need not relate to material which originates from Japan. To discuss non-professional subtitling more generally, I will use the term "amateur subtitling".

1.4.1 The Origins of Fansubbing

As mentioned above, fansubbing originated with translations of Japanese *animé* programmes into English, in the 1960s-1980s, driven by both the lack of translations of *animé* programmes, and the inadequacy of those which were available commercially, which "are often heavily adapted, abridged or deleted" (Kung, 2016: 252). The desire for more culturally nuanced subtitling was a strong motivation for fansubbing. For fans of *animé*, "commercial subtitling neglects cultural differences and dilutes the idiosyncrasy of Japanese animation" and through fansubbing, non-Japanese fans assert their "right to experience cultural 'otherness" (Pérez González 2007: 265). Fansubbing is therefore a clear example of how the needs and wishes of many consumers were not being met by the professional AVT industry, and of communities which formed to address problems that they perceived with professional subtitling. The fansubbing movement has since grown hugely, both because of this consumer demand and because of developments in technology. As Kung notes, technology has "transformed the ways in which foreign media products are conventionally produced, translated and distributed" (2016: 252). On a practical level, the internet and digital media make it much easier to create and distribute

fansubs. Originally, fansubs were distributed on videotapes (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez, 2006: 44) but the process is considerably easier and quicker today.

These fan-created translations are usually created by people who know a great deal about the subject matter, the programme and its context. They are very passionate about the ST, and devote an enormous amount of time to providing subtitles for other users (Kung, 2016). As O'Hagan observes, the subtitles exhibit "a level of commitment on the part of the contributor which commercial translation is rarely able to match" (2009: online). Szu-Wen Kung's study of Chinese amateur subtitling shows that it is a community with its own strict rules, with numerous application criteria, quality control and mentoring, a specific style guide, and opportunities for members to offer constructive feedback on the translations (2016). The fansubbing system is built upon this dedication, collective intelligence and genre knowledge.

The fansub model has become a worldwide phenomenon. For example, Chinese fansubbing groups began with Japanese *animé*, then moved on to American drama, which is now their most translated genre (Kung, 2016: 256). Amateur subtitling has also moved beyond television programmes into other types of audiovisual products. O'Hagan (2009) provides a detailed description of game translation in her article on User Generated Translation (UGT). It is interesting to note that UGT, like fansubbing, arose from dissatisfaction with official localised versions of games (also mainly originally Japanese STs) and a desire to have the "authentic" original game as closely replicated as possible. Also of note is the emphasis on active participation in culture, and the power of the consumer to find a way to experience games in the way they desire. O'Hagan (2009) notes that, as a result of their evident dedication and expertise in the subject matter, many amateur game translators have since become professionals in the field of game localisation, illustrating the extent to which fans and consumers have infiltrated the professional translation world.

It is in the nature of computer games to encourage active participation, unlike films and television programmes which simply require the viewer's passive attention. Thus it is not surprising that game localisation would be one of the first areas of AVT to experience UGT and community participation. The fact that it has also appeared with *animé* cartoons, in the fansubbing movement, shows the extent of the perceived

inadequacy of official commercial translations, remedied by dedicated fans. It is important to observe how this type of process and approach is happening across all kinds of media. Indeed, some of the techniques established by fansubbers and game translators could easily be transposed to other genres, and change the face of the general subtitling market. However, for the purposes of this thesis the visual and substantive style of *animé* fansubs is of particular interest when it comes to looking at developments in subtitling, as its innovations have begun to appear in commercial film and television subtitling as well. Their style is discussed in the following section.

1.4.2 The Style of Fansubbing

The amateur, voluntary nature of fansubbing has brought about new creativity and innovation, as fansubbers are not bound by the professional constraints discussed in Section 1.2.1. This is manifested in two ways, in the visual style, which rejects the "plain styles and domesticating translations of standard subtitling practices" (McClarty: 2012) and the content, which is much more detailed than professional subtitles. It is important to note that not all amateur subtitles are more thoughtfully created or appropriate to a programme than professional ones. Di Giovanni's comparison of Netflix' official Italian subtitles with non-professional subtitles found mixed results: comprehension rates were higher with nonprofessional subtitles than with the official ones provided by Netflix for *Black Mirror*, but for *Narcos* the amateur subtitles clashed with the placement on screen text and produced confusion (2018). Meanwhile, in the context of Swedish amateur subtitles, Pedersen found that they were of lower quality and "hardly creative at all" (2018: 210).

In terms of visual style, fansubbing is strikingly different from unobtrusive professional subtitles. Some features of fansubbing include the use of different fonts and colours, for example to identify different speakers; subtitles of more than two lines; varying the subtitles' position on screen; Karaoke subtitling for opening and closing songs, and a "sympathetic" style, "ensuring that the visual styling of subtitles is compatible with the aesthetics of the programme" (Pérez González 2007: 270). Figure 1 illustrates the karaoke style opening credits, which make use of dynamic writing, and shows the large amount of information presented to viewers at a time, not respecting the character limits or the two line format of conventional subtitling

set out in the *Code of Good Subtitling Practice* discussed above. However, one way in which the *Code* is respected, in a way in which it is frequently not in the commercial world, is that the translator is given credit. Indeed, as Pérez González observes, "amateur subtitles flaunt their presence in the text in visible and often playful ways, with subtitles becoming facilitators of creative interaction between subtitlers and their online audiences" (2013: 10). The presence of the translator is emphasised in fansubs, in contrast to the tradition of invisibility. The inventiveness of fansubs is relevant to this project, because the distinctive style of fansubbing indicates that there is room for more creativity and, in many cases, room for more information than is currently found in conventional subtitles. For this reason, examining their style could provide answers to other challenges in the subtitling industry, such as the challenges involved in subtitling multilingualism.

Figure 1: Visual innovation (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez, 2006: 42)

In terms of substantive content, the amount of information included in *animé* fansubs is directly related to their visual style, in that more information can be included,

because the subtitles can appear all over the screen, in highly visible glosses and notes added by the fansubbers. As Bogucki writes, fansubbers have "far more freedom and, as a consequence, technical constraints do not normally impinge on the resulting product" (2009: 50). By not observing character or time limits imposed by the professional industry, fansubbers can include more of the information that is of interest to the *animé* fandom. This "by fans for fans" work shows that many viewers want subtitles to show them more about the SC through more detailed subtitles that take them closer to the ST. Given that the audience is interested in *animé* and Japanese culture, the content of subtitles is often close to the original text. Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez observe that "consumers of fansubs are generally exposed to more foreign cultural idiosyncrasies than other viewers" (2006: 46). Pérez González also notes that fansubs provide the "fullest and most authentic experience of *animé* action and the Japanese culture which embeds it" (2007: 260). The audience can learn from colour coding - which can denote different speakers or unseen voices and even sometimes identifies dialect shifts - as well as from the content of the subtitle. For example fansubs will use the Japanese form of address to give more information about a character's status. There will also be notes and glosses to explain cultural references. Pérez González argues that the fansubbers' interventions in the form of notes and glosses represent "the ultimate statement against the effacement of the translator prevailing in conventional subtitling" (2007: 271). For example, in Figure 2 the subtitlers add cultural information and also justify their choices. The use of such glosses, additions and notes has implications for the issue of authenticity and originality. Fansubbers re-process an original text to the extent that the line between original and translation is blurred, and, as Pérez González notes, "fansubbers challenge the traditional hierarchy between centre text (image) and marginal notes (subtitles/glosses)" (2013: 8). The way in which the text is presented challenges the relationship between original and translation, dialogue and subtitles.

Kung notes that in "deviating from the culturally reductionist translations of professional subtitlers, who tend to minimize if not delete the original cultural references, fansubbers are known for the extensive deployment of abusive translation

approaches" (2016: 254). Fansubs are the opposite of unobtrusive, emphasising the presence of the translator and the process of translation. By calling attention to the potential of subtitling, fansubs have inspired academics and industry to rethink the processes and style of the medium. In some cases, the way they emphasise the presence of the translation process will be a useful template for the translation of multilingual films in which language variation, communication and translation are key themes.

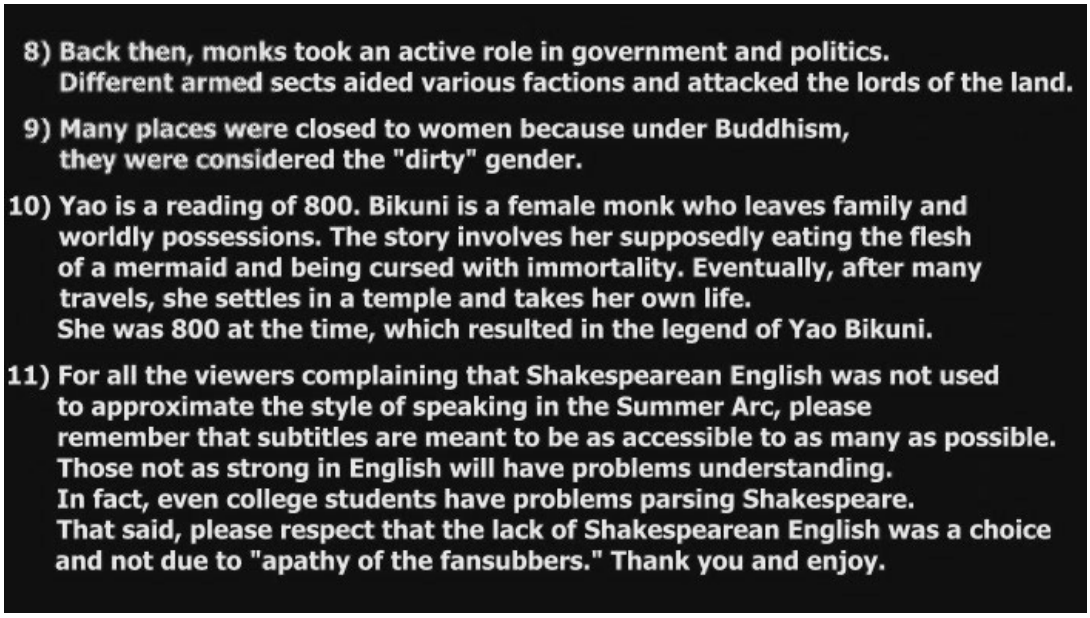

Figure 2: Translator's notes (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez, 2006: 47)

1.4.3 Effects of Fansubbing on the AVT Industry

The aforementioned changes brought about by amateur subtitling have the potential to reinvigorate the AVT world. As Secară argues, "social translation practices have the potential to become a rich source of inspiration for professionally created audiovisual translations" (2011: 154). O'Hagan also discusses the rise in community translation and consumer power, and points out that professional translators must adapt to and respond to this in order to preserve the translation profession (2009). She notes the various consequences of UGT, observing that while there are inevitably ethical issues and quality concerns, UGT also highlights the lack of expertise in the subject matter and the lack of motivation in professional translation, probably caused by their less than ideal working conditions. O'Hagan argues that, in

order for AVT to survive in a professional capacity, translators need to confront these issues and adapt to a new way of working (2009).

Fansubbing and other forms of amateur translation have had various noticeable effects on the industry. As Dwyer observes, fansubbing has "a new level of cultural legitimacy in the eyes of big business and industry, while potentially empowering fans to effect real industry change" (2016: 146). Following the example set by fansubs, commercially subtitled *animé* has started to become closer to the ST. Reito Adachi notes that "as Japanese animated works achieved greater recognition in the United States during the first decade of the twenty-first century, their translations have subsequently become more faithful to the original versions" (2016: 145). Rebecca McClarty also argues that the popularity of fansubbing, has led to change in the professional world, for example, it has forced the commercial distributors of *animé* to adopt some of the new practices that are so popular with the fan community (2012). Because of our increased processing capabilities and our ease with screen technologies, discussed above, Pérez González declares that we are ready for the "more demanding and yet more rewarding" longer, more dynamic fansub style (2007: 273). Indeed, as Dwyer writes, "industry players are now beginning to model their activities on fansubbing practices" (2016: 150).

Fansubbing's ethos of highlighting the constructed, translated nature of texts, is also adopted in new ways of thinking about subtitling in the professional field. Pérez González' analysis of the playful subtitles created for the television series *Sherlock* (2010-2017) indicates that the commercial audiovisual industry is starting to move away from treating subtitles as purely a functional, translational tool, and has started to use them in a more creative, performative way (2016). Fansubs have also served to unofficially promote the shows they translate for distributors. The availability of fansubbed programmes for shows that would otherwise not be translated has enlarged the fan-base of the genres, and created more demand for both fansubbers and distributors. In an analysis of Hayao Miyazaki's film *Spirited Away* (2003), Adachi notes that, despite copyright issues, the fan-translated versions of the film have "acted as advertisements for the licensed versions of Miyazaki's movies and even positively affected the animation market and industry as a whole" (Adachi, 2016: 145). While technically illegal, there is often a "gentlemen's agreement"

between fansubbers and distributors, whereby fansubbers prevent access to their work on downloading websites so that it is more difficult to get hold of the free, illegal version once a version becomes available on the commercial market (Díaz Cintas and Muñoz Sánchez, 2006: 44). This practice shows the power of the consumer, in that the distributor listens to the fansub community, making available in the mainstream market the programmes that they have expressed interest in by fansubbing.

A notable feature of the fansubbing phenomenon is that it began as a movement for translating media from other languages into English, rather than using English as a source language (SL). This is important because, as many theorists have articulated, subtitling norms have generally been a product of the Hollywood film industry, and the conventions, including the demand for invisibility, has been as a result of Hollywood cinema translation from English (Pérez González 2012, Nornes, 2007). Perhaps it is for this very reason that fansubbers felt so free to depart from these conventions, as they were already going, in Gottlieb's words, "against the current" (2009). Programmes from other languages and cultures can therefore be seen to be changing the Hollywood, Anglo-centric way of creating subtitles, and in doing so making way for other source cultures to be seen in the media- both in terms of their availability and in terms of the way they are translated, with many more source-culture specific references. This is particularly significant for my project, as it focuses on translation into English from Spanish and Catalan, and discusses ways of communicating information that is specific to the SC context. This discussion of amateur subtitling has demonstrated that the increasing presence and popularity of fansubs, which include more information about the ST and the SC, indicate viewers' interest in getting more information than is provided by conventional subtitles. Moreover, fansubs' innovative visual style suggests that viewers would accept subtitles that depart from the strict formatting norms of conventional subtitles, giving subtitlers more freedom in how they present this extra information. Indeed, the influence of fansubbing is now beginning to be felt in the professional industry.

1.5. Creativity and Collaboration

1.5.1 Collaborative Subtitles

As fansubs have shown, subtitles – rather than being external to, and not part of the film's visual space or style – can work in harmony with it, and rather than interrupting the diegetic space they can become part of it. These features can also appear in officially commissioned subtitles. For instance, Anna Foerster (2010) looks at how subtitles are creatively used in her case study of *Night Watch* (Bekmambetov, 2004). In the English language version of the Russian film subtitles are incorporated into the visual design of the film in a "similar way to graphic novels" (Foerster 2010: 86). Foerster calls this style "aesthetic subtitling, as it draws attention to the subtitles via aesthetic means" (2010: 85). She argues that "aesthetic subtitling is designed graphically to support or match the aesthetics of the audiovisual text" (2010: 86). Foerster finds that the aesthetic subtitles in *Night Watch* both correspond to the film's style and also match its plot. Examples of those diegetically designed subtitles which match the plot are the subtitles that appear to be written in blood, and signify a vampire's voice. These subtitles correspond visually to the film's subject matter. Other examples identified by Foerster include the positioning of the title on the screen, or its appearance on screen a word at a time, in time to a knife chopping. This style "makes the audience fully aware that they are reading subtitles and in their function they are similar to book illustrations which are often used to provide another layer of the story and to leave an impression on the readers' mind" (2010: 92). They can "reinforce characters' feelings" adding a layer of meaning that would not be there otherwise (2010: 92). This example shows how innovative subtitling is entering the film industry, as the subtitles were developed in collaboration with Fox searchlight, the film's distributor, and the director Timur Bekmambetov (Foerster, 2010). Foerster also observes that the Russian original version does not have these subtitles and therefore "misses out", because these subtitles enrich the viewing experience in a way that goes beyond merely providing translation of the content of the dialogue (2010: 94). In the short film *Desperanto* (Rozema, 1991), subtitles become part of the *mise-en-scène*, that is, everything that is visible in the frame, even interacting with a character in a dream sequence. The director Patricia Rozema explains that the style of subtitles supports the ideas in the film; "I tried to make visible the experience of trying to access another culture where I can't speak the

language" (2004: 66). Subtitles are a visual tool used in conjunction with other visual symbols such as a brick wall. Instead of the hoped for "contact and intimacy", "her experiences are various runnings into walls" (2004: 66). This is another example of the creative use of subtitles which goes beyond translation, and could be said to represent and translate the character's emotions as a newcomer in a foreign land, instead of translating words. In a dream sequence scene they are used visually, more for illustration than translation, and as a device in the dream, they are playful. The character falls asleep at a party and dreams that she "finds subtitles, those imperfect little life lines that straddle, bore through and circumvent the walls" (2004: 66). The character starts to interact physically with the subtitles: "Finding it difficult to read the subtitles at the bottom of the frame that are oriented towards the viewer, she squeezes in between us and the subtitles to better connect to the world on the other side" (2004: 67). In order to better connect to a world she must step away from it, out of it, behind the barrier of subtitles. This could be understood as a metaphor for the viewer's experience of subtitles: they put distance between a viewer and a film but also provide access. They occupy a space in between the film and the viewer, and their unique position is emphasised by the way the character positions herself around them. Rozema's phrase "imperfect little life lines" sums up the flawed yet essential nature of subtitles. They can annoy and distance us as viewers but we depend on them.

In terms of positioning on screen, *Desperanto* illustrates that subtitles do not have to be "sub"; they can occupy any part of the screen, not just the bottom of it. This is something that has also been picked up by fansubbers and used to great effect for subtitling *animé*. They can be positioned wherever seems appropriate, and it can even be possible to embed them more firmly into the scene. Rozema takes this to an extreme when her character "slips the subtitles into her cleavage and another into her drink and drinks it" and then "she stands on the subtitles of a French song that sings "teach me, please teach me" and is taken away" (2004: 67). This suggests the informative power of the subtitle, how it can let you in and transport you to new experiences, cultures, and understandings. "Teach me" is also tellingly dogmatic; subtitles have the power to tell you one single interpretation of a scene, one translation, and what information you should take from it, made official in writing.

This film shows that subtitles do not necessarily need to be unobtrusive, accurate or even legible. What is important is not what they say in this case but the character's experience of them and of translation. They can say more by being playful and creative. This is an extreme example of artistic subtitling, but it serves to elucidate some of the potential uses of subtitles: translation, playfulness/comedy, illustration, explanation, education and commentary. These examples show that the creative, interactive potential for subtitles is increased when they are incorporated into the initial production process of the film. Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) note that in today's film market, in which translated versions account for a huge proportion of revenue (a fact also noted by Romero Fresco, 2013), translation has a significant bearing on the success of a film. They argue that "directors still have to wake up to the reality that the translation process is an artistic factor on which more control needs to be exerted and in which it is worthwhile investing the necessary amount of money, generally very little compared with the overall budget" (Díaz Cintas and Remael, 2007: 38), advocating for subtitling to be treated as part of the creative filmmaking process.

1.5.2 Accessible Filmmaking

Pablo Romero Fresco has explored this idea, using the term "accessible filmmaking" to describe the integration of AVT and accessibility into the filmmaking process from the beginning (2013, 2017). Accessibility is a fitting direction from which to approach this topic, since the challenges of presenting audiovisual media to visually impaired or deaf or hard-of-hearing audiences have given rise to the development of creative solutions, such as colour-coding, which can be applied to other translation challenges. Such solutions could also be applied to multilingual films, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. Accessible filmmaking is a response to the aforementioned current industrial subtitling norms and the realities of the subtitling industry, in which outsourcing at the distribution stage means that filmmakers have no say in subtitling decisions, and subtitlers have insufficient resources[7]. Romero Fresco's solution to this is to recommend that filmmakers themselves collaborate with translators at an earlier stage, for example by

7 The problems arising from treating translation as an afterthought affect dubbing as well as subtitling, and Bosseaux joins Romero-Fresco in his drive for accessible filmmaking, arguing that "dubbing should not be confined to the distribution process, but instead form at least part of the production process, with directors engaging in conversations with translators" (2015: 216).

considering how aspects of the *mise en scène* will affect the legibility of subtitles, and bear this in mind when selecting the colours and patterns of costumes, props, etc., to ensure that subtitles will be legible. In fact, he views subtitles as part of the *mise en scène*, as they are in the frame and are looked at by the viewer, and influence what the viewer notices and in what order, so they should be thought about and indeed seen by filmmakers. He notes that, while almost every part of the scene, including location, costume, camerawork and lighting are often thoughtfully designed, the "bright white or yellow letters of the subtitles may cause the completely opposite effect to the one intended by the dark lighting and the subdued tones used for a particular shot" (2017: online) and these subtitles are often never even seen by the filmmaker. Other examples of how accessible filmmaking could be implemented include considering the location of subtitles in camerawork when deciding on the framing and duration of a shot, or the use of a particular typeface or aesthetic style that responds to the content of the film (like the English subtitles for *Night Watch,* discussed above) (Romero Fresco, 2017). The importance of communication between graphic designers and subtitlers to coordinate the style of typeface in on-screen captions and subtitles is stressed, and their on-screen placement is also considered: "if a shot has been framed so that the focus is placed on both sides of the frame, … why should foreign and deaf viewers be forced to look down to the bottom centre of the frame, where nothing happens, thus wasting precious time to take in the details of the image?" (Romero Fresco, 2017: online). Romero Fresco's research on accessible filmmaking focuses mainly on documentary filmmaking, partly because it is easier to work in innovative ways outside of the blockbuster entertainment industry, but many of his findings could apply to entertainment films as well. Many of the changes he suggests would not be too practically difficult to implement, as they do not demand the re-thinking of the entire filmmaking process, just the addition of simple considerations and solutions, such as "for the cameraperson to have an indication through the viewfinder of where the subtitles would potentially be displayed, so that a decision can be made as to whether a particular shot is to be framed in a subtitle-friendly manner or not" (Romero Fresco 2017: online). The types of solutions he suggests, such as view-finder indicators, costume and *mise en scène* and colour coordination, would be applicable for the

translation of a film into many languages, and are not target-language dependent. They could therefore be easily applied to a film that will be translated into multiple languages. McClarty (2012) also appreciates the need for creative collaboration between filmmakers and translators. She takes a multidisciplinary approach in her article on creative subtitling, in which she suggests that academics and practitioners in the field of AVT must look towards areas such as film studies and graphic design. She is also inspired by theatre translation, observing that it is usually a collaborative practice, and that it is tailored to each individual production, because of the "specific aesthetic qualities of the individual play that is being translated" (2012: 138). Like Foerster, she argues for a case by case approach, and calls for film translation to become a "creative practice" responding to each film in order to "create an aesthetic that matches that of the source text, instead of being bound by standard font types, sizes and positions" (McClarty, 2012: 140). Moreover, McClarty also calls on subtitlers to abandon the futile quest for invisibility. A film in translation cannot "invisibly" replicate its effect on the Source Audience (SA) for the Target Audience (TA). This is indeed an impossible aim "[f]or who is to say what that experience is? Who is to say that that experience can be defined as one single unifying experience?" (McClarty, 2012: 140). This leads McClarty to conclude that creative subtitles should not be tied so closely to the source text, but should "aim to achieve difference rather than sameness", to create "new meanings in translation" (2012: 140). This last statement, however, seems to contradict her earlier suggestion that film translators respond to each individual film, as surely the individualised approach implies care for the unique ST, and an attempt to make subtitles to suit it, rather than departing from and disregarding the ST, as implied by the suggestion to create "difference" and "new meanings". While she is right to claim that complete equivalence of experience is impossible, I would argue that it is best to push for subtitles that draw the viewer back to and enhance the ST, particularly if, as is the most feasible way, they are to be created in collaboration with filmmakers, who would usually want to preserve their artistic vision as much as possible.

To enable the full realisation of these ideas for accessible filmmaking and creative collaboration between the translator and the filmmaker would entail an overhaul of the filmmaking and distribution model, and is likely to be met with resistance by the

film industry. However, as Romero-Fresco argues, certain elements of it can be introduced fairly easily, such as forethought about *mise en scène* placement in relation to subtitling (2013). At a practical level, even if, as is currently the norm, filmmakers do not have power over translation decisions, and translators are not involved in the initial creative process, it is possible for each party to have an awareness of the concerns of the other: filmmakers should bear translation in mind, and subtitlers should have an understanding of how meaning is created in films, and how their subtitles will affect this. This section has discussed the ways in which subtitles can transcend the purpose of translation, and enrich a film by adding new elements or showing things in a different way, in a similar way to book illustration, although it is a textual addition to a visual medium, rather than the visual addition to the verbal medium that happens with book illustration. This entails an understanding of how the verbal and visual modes of meaning in filmmaking work together to create an overall effect. Creative subtitling methods and accessible filmmaking can create a bridge between the world of filmmaking and translation in practice, and for research purposes the theory of multimodality has proven useful.

1.6 Conclusion: Towards the use of Multimodal Theory in AVT

The pressure for invisibility has led to strict presentation norms which, as well as providing guidelines for readable subtitles, can also have a detrimental effect on films in translation. Taken to its logical conclusion, the demand for invisibility does not make sense: subtitles that were truly invisible would of course be useless. Foerster makes the obvious point that subtitles by necessity must always be visible "as they are inscriptions of words and sentences that cover part of our screen" (2010: 83). As a matter of fact, Foerster notes that the shift of modes, from speech to written language, means that "one could never give the illusion of the other" (2010: 83). Perhaps to attempt to do so is the wrong approach. I would argue that the attempt to pretend that a film has not gone through the translation process, ignoring the inevitable changes it will have undergone, is misguided. One of the virtues of subtitles is that they allow another language and culture to be heard; the viewer is confronted at all times with the ST (through the acoustic channel), as such they are hardly likely to forget they are experiencing it in translation. This is especially

relevant for multilingual films, because the inclusion of a third language will often have thematic significance, and the presence of foreign languages and translation will often be an important part of the film.

The expectations for conventional subtitles can often be contradictory and unhelpful. The expectation that good subtitles should provide viewers with an understanding of a film's dialogue but must also simultaneously erase themselves from the mind of the viewer is odd, unrealistic, and in my view ignores the potential for subtitles to contribute more to a film. Subtitles have traditionally aimed to be unobtrusive and invisible. They do, however, have the potential to play a more dynamic role in films. While I do not wish to diminish their important primary function of translation, it is worth noting that they can also fulfil other functions, such as providing commentary, comedy, and information. Moreover, they can be adapted visually and stylistically to reflect themes of the film. Technological developments have democratised the world of subtitling, which means that viewers, or "prosumers," can influence the methods and approaches used. New technologies and the availability of free subtitling software mean that it is possible for viewers to express this dissatisfaction by taking subtitling into their own hands, forcing both the academic and professional worlds to take notice. The relationship between consumers and entertainment is changing; it is becoming more interactive and viewers have more choice of when, what and how they watch, as well as the means to create their own translations and subtitles of foreign products.

There is increasing evidence that many viewers respond positively to subtitles that provide more than the bare bones of dialogue, and also convey more information about the SC. For example, many fansubbers are resisting the standardisation of conventional subtitles and prefer more informative, visually dynamic translation. As Jones points out, the audience of foreign films is more likely to describe a film as "rewarding" rather than "entertaining". (2014). This suggests that they may be receptive in some cases to subtitles which, as well as translating, also provide more information, so the viewers feel they have learned something. Some subtitling styles, such as fansubs, incorporate these extra features in a way that is accepted by and popular with the viewers of *animé*. The success of this approach suggests that a significant proportion of an audience of foreign films and television shows do want

to learn while they are entertained. Therefore there may be a place for subtitles to take on a more active role in translation, to highlight significant features of foreign films and clarify them for an audience, rather than simply providing a pared-down unobtrusive translation.

For subtitles to succeed in adding a creative, informative element to the film, translators need to be aware of how their subtitles will interact with the other meaning-making elements. AVT research is now focusing more on the multimodal nature of audiovisual texts, and moving from solely linguistic research to encompass an awareness of all the semiotic modes, including the soundtrack and images. Multimodality as a theoretical framework will be a key influence on the methodology of my project and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. Subtitling practice has always involved negotiating between different meaning-making modes. As Georgakopoulou explains: "the final aim is to retain and reflect in the subtitles the equilibrium between the image, sound and text of the original" (2009: 30), so it has always been part of the subtitler's task. The uniqueness of subtitling compared with other forms of translation has long been acknowledged, but research is now adapting to better accommodate this fact. However, until recently, few researchers had addressed this requirement. As Chaume notes, few had approached AVT with an awareness of the "semiotic interaction that is produced in the simultaneous emissions of text and image, and the repercussions that this has in the process of translation" (2002: 1-3). Gambier (2006: 2) also notes that AVT research has in the past been "too often limited to case studies on the linguistic side only" and that, given that the practice is already intermodal, a research framework should have space for multimodality.

Gottlieb identified the specific needs of subtitlers and subtitle researchers in 1994 in *Subtitling: Diagonal Translation*. He noted the transition from spoken dialogue to written subtitles, arguing that it is more than just a simple change of mode, because language works differently in writing and in speech. He called this transition from speech to writing "diagonal", acknowledging the intersemiotic nature of subtitling translation, as opposed to other forms of translation; translation and interpreting are "horizontal, one dimensional" because both "stick to the semiotic nature of the source message: speech remains speech, and writing remains writing" (1994: 104).

In contrast, subtitling involves a diagonal transfer: from speech, in the SL, to written text, in the TL. Gottlieb argued that subtitlers should be aware of this intersemiotic shift because of the "incompatibility of the oral and the written sub-codes" from informal, spontaneous speech to the formalities of written language (1994: 105). Thus it is part of the subtitler's task to manage these modal shifts. As well as this diagonal semiotic shift, another feature that distinguishes subtitling from other forms of translation is the continued presence of the ST alongside the subtitles in the TT. Díaz Cintas notes that "AVT is always constrained by the presence of the original production, which lives on semiotically through images (and sound) in the adoptive audience" and this means that "studying the linguistic dimension of this only will not yield satisfactory results" (2009: 9). However, this "constraint" can also be helpful to the subtitler. As Taylor observes, when it comes to subtitling, "a realization that other semiotic modalities are carrying the cognitive load triggers the option of reduction, whereas for the dubbing translator, timing and lip movements, particularly in close-ups, need to be considered" (2016: 226). Either way, a research framework must allow for the presence of other semiotic modes.

Advocating a multidisciplinary approach, Chaume (2004) argues for an integration of theory from Film Studies as well as Translation Studies, in which film language forms part of the framework behind multimodal theory in AVT. Given that verbal language is not the only meaning-making tool at play in films and audiovisual translation, AVT should take film language into account. Gambier also calls for researchers to be more aware of cinematic language as well as other visual and aural modes of expression, including "camera moves, viewing angles, editing, soundtrack, tone of voices, facial expressions, gestures, gazes, body movements, all of which are also meaningful" (2006: 3). Sarah Kozloff, a Film Studies scholar, notes that the introduction of dialogue to films meant that people began to pay less attention to the visual mode, and that dialogue in films makes viewers less aware of visual expression (2000). If the inclusion of dialogue in films has changed the way we experience the other semiotic modes present, then perhaps subtitles also make films even more reliant on text, on verbal language rather than image or sound. Multimodal theory could therefore be a way to redress this balance. As Pérez González argues, "[a]udiovisual translation, understood both as a professional

activity and a field of academic research, should be informed by an enhanced, more conscious awareness of what is being communicated through each mode" (2014: 187). Multimodality can help to bridge the gap between subtitling and film studies in academic research, and hopefully also in the professional film translation industry. It provides a theoretical basis that can help researchers and practitioners treat subtitling as an integral part of a film, rather than something that is added on and separate from the film.

Greater collaboration and communication between film production and translation is an ideal solution, although this is not always possible. Subtitles can pick up on features of a film, including language variation, which is central to my project, and emphasise, explain or develop them in some way, using innovative visual and verbal techniques. In the case studies in my thesis I will not be able to collaborate with filmmakers, but I will illustrate some cases in which this kind of innovative subtitling could be used. The extent to which translators should adopt the creative techniques discussed above depends on the style of the film; and once again an individualised approach is needed. My thesis will illustrate this by analysing three multilingual films, focussing on the individual needs of each, highlighting the advantages of working on each film individually rather than issuing rules and methods which attempt to apply to all films. I will therefore flag up potential considerations for translators, but precisely because of the "individual" approach, it would be pointless to aim for a new set of universal guidelines for creative subtitling. However, creative subtitles that respond linguistically and visually to the film they translate may be particularly suited to some multilingual films, as they could find a way to mark the presence of different languages in a way that is in keeping with the film's aesthetics. The following chapter introduces the topic of multilingual films and discusses the various functions multilingualism can have, before examining strategies and techniques for their translation.

Chapter Two: Multilingual Films and Their Translation

2.1 Introduction: The Myth of Monolingualism

Translation and Translation Studies has traditionally focused on the transfer of information from one language into one other language, as observed by Reine Meylaerts (2006). Meylaerts traces this monolingual conception of translation to the monolingual paradigm of Western nation-states, because languages are intimately involved with consolidating ideology and power, and the fiction of a single, homogenous language and culture enables states to "inculcate a common identity upon their citizens" (2006: 3). Across institutions, "traces of the 'other' language(s) in translated texts are often smoothened out", and societies "hide the extent to which their founding texts and fundamental legal options depend on translation" (Meylaerts, 2006: 5), contributing to the creation of the myth of monolingualism. The act of translation, in this context, hides the presence of other languages and voices, creating the illusion in readers, listeners or viewers that the entire world conducts itself in their own native language. While this position has merit and relatively broad applicability, it should be noted that this conception of translation, in which one language is replaced by another, is challenged by subtitling, as the SL remains to be heard in the TT.

The concept of film as a language in itself has been the focus of many film studies theorists. Indeed, as Shochat and Stam observe, "little attention has been directed to the role of language and language difference *within* film," and "the impact on the cinema of the prodigality of tongues in which it is produced, spoken and received" has been neglected (1985: 35). An understanding of the functions of multilingualism in cinema is therefore needed, and this chapter will discuss them in more detail in Section 2.2. The increasing trend for multilingual characters and dialogue in films calls the myth of monolingualism into question and calls for translation practices to be adapted to better convey the multiplicity of voices. A "multilingual turn" in cinema has been observed by translation theorists, including Dwyer (2005) and O'Sullivan (2007) and this development poses questions about the nature of translation, and whether new structures need to be applied.

Section 2.3 provides an overview of cinema's historical engagement with translation. The "myth of monolingualism" that Meylaerts identifies in society is echoed by cinema's own "myth of monolingualism", in which cinema encourages a conception of itself as a universal language and hides the presence of translation at every stage of its existence (O'Sullivan 2011; Dwyer 2005). Filmmaking has certainly followed this monolingual paradigm, despite multilingualism being present in films since before the inception of the talkies (Dwyer 2005, Cronin 2009). O'Sullivan notes that the monolingual conception of translation is insufficient, and moreover inaccurate, because "the assumed monolingualism of film is belied by films themselves" (2011: 177). Despite the many languages involved in the creation and distribution of films, the cinema industry as a whole has traditionally shown itself reluctant to engage with multilingualism or translation in any meaningful way, as was shown in Chapter One, Section 1.2, which discussed the separation of filmmaking from translation, and the consequences of this outsourcing on subtitles' quality and style.

This project focuses on the particular challenges that multilingual films present to subtitlers. The demand for invisibility discussed in Chapter One, which leads to subtitles which convey the bare minimum of information in a pared-down style, is not suited to representing a multiplicity of voices or languages. Indeed, when it comes to conventional subtitles, Foerster observes that "the linguistic register is mostly neutral, accents and dialects are almost never rendered, and harsh and rude language is toned down" (2010: 83). This flattening of different voices can only increase when different languages are added to the ST. As a consequence, multilingual STs often become monolingual TTs (O'Sullivan 2011: 8). Subtitling's general tendency to neutralise voices and flatten distinguishing features is not suitable for translating the presence of different linguistic codes. In such films, language plurality is often a key part of the work, which would be lost in the minimalist process of conventional subtitling. When multilingualism is a crucial part of a film, creative solutions are required that go beyond traditional industrial subtitling norms. Multilingual films, and the strategies and techniques developed for translating multilingualism in subtitles, described in Section 2.4, therefore also provide a useful perspective from which to study the need and potential for creativity and innovation in subtitling generally.

2.2 Cinema, multilingualism and translation

2.2.1. The Presentation of Multilingualism

The growing trend for engagement with multilingualism in cinema, referred to by Dwyer as a "linguistic turn" (2005) is a response to the increasingly globalised world. Multilingualism in film is beginning to reflect more accurately the society in which we live. O'Sullivan, adapting Sternberg's (1981) framework, categorises the representation of multilingualism in films on a scale from "homogenisation" to "vehicular matching" according to how authentically languages are shown (2011). Homogenising approaches act as though the issue of language is irrelevant to the realistic representation of a setting, making no attempt to realistically represent the language of the narrative (O'Sullivan, 2011: 26). However, it is rare for a film to be completely homogenising; even films which use English to represent the dialogue of non-English speaking characters, in non-Anglophone settings, usually acknowledge the "tension between representing and represented language" in small ways, such as accents or short phrases in other languages (O'Sullivan, 2011: 27). Wahl calls techniques like this "audio-postcarding" that is, using a few foreign words as shorthand to denote the presence of something or someone foreign, or as a crude "marker of Otherness" (Wahl, 2008: 337). Films generally move along a scale between homogenisation and vehicular matching, without sticking completely to either one. This is called "mimetic compromise" (O'Sullivan, 2011: 27), and most strategies fall within this category. For instance, the strategy of "selective reproduction" refers to techniques such as using foreign languages in background noise, street signs, or from minor characters or short emotive exclamations, greetings, and rituals; in "verbal transposition" characters use unusual sentence structures or otherwise express themselves in ways that suggest the existence of a foreign language (2011: 28); and with "referential restriction the structure of the narrative or plot is designed to minimise the need to include more than one language (2011: 35). Pressure from funding bodies and distributors often leads to referential restriction: many such organisations are reluctant to get involved in multilingual productions, and often request the language variation to be minimised. O'Sullivan notes that filmmakers are often asked to "alter the language design of films away from vehicular matching strategies", and adds that it is more unusual for vehicular matching to appear in mainstream films because of the perceived added processing

strain it puts on the viewers, which promoters fear will put audiences off (2011: 25). O'Sullivan notes that this can lead to minimising the importance of multilingualism in films where it should play a greater role (2011: 36). She argues that this technique, which shifts the narrative into English and prioritises English-speaking characters, is both sustained by and helps to perpetuate "the circular colonial relationship" of English speakers who learned the language because of this globalisation, who can then appear in English-speaking narratives, which in turn promote the globalisation of English (2011: 37). In short, referential restriction eliminates the presence of multiple languages in films, and could lead to more homogenisation in the future.

At the other end of the scale of linguistic representation is "vehicular matching" which matches the languages spoken in the film to the languages which the characters would naturally speak in the setting (O'Sullivan, 2011: 20). It is these films that most multilingual film research focuses on. Vehicular matching is often linked to a desire for authenticity (O'Sullivan, 2011: 24). However, given that film scripts are *written* to resemble spontaneous, *spoken* conversations, (Sanz Ortega, 2015: 58) and the fact that "multilingual" scripts are often written in one language, and then the relevant sections are translated into other languages (O'Sullivan, 2011: 118), it should be noted that vehicular matching is a representation of reality rather than reality itself.[8] While vehicular matching does give the appearance of an authentic representation of a film's linguistic landscape, the functions of languages transcend realism and language variation can play a variety of roles in films. These will be discussed in the following section.

2.2.2 The Functions of Multilingualism

Wahl's (2008) distinction between "polyglot" and "non-polyglot" multilingual films is a useful way to understand the various functions of language variation. The term "polyglot" does not refer to all multilingual films, but instead to what is being identified as a genre of its own, which focuses on language difference and communication and translation. When defining the polyglot film genre, Wahl (2008) emphasises the realism with which language variation is treated. He notes the tension

8 Sanz Ortega (2015) notes that these "pseudo-translations" are not as ubiquitous as previously thought, and that some scripts are written multilingually from the beginning.

between “strict realism”, whereby characters speak freely in their own languages, and other demands of film speech, arguing that a polyglot film opts for the “realistic strategy” and reflects authentic use of the languages involved (2008: 335). Moreover, Wahl explains that in non-polyglot multilingual films “the interaction between speakers of different languages is only integrated for the sake of plot narration and not as a conscious statement of the difficulties or the miracles of communication” (2008: 338), suggesting that in order to fit into the polyglot genre, a film should represent multilingualism faithfully, but also engage with it or comment on it in some way. Additionally, Dwyer argues that polyglot films “allow the babble or confusion of multiple languages to be heard, suggesting the ultimate untranslatability of difference” and that by highlighting the different voices present, they celebrate gaps in translation, and miscommunication, instead of mainstream cinema’s usual trick of pretending translation is absent and unnecessary (2005: 306). Wahl also notes that polyglot films are “anti-illusionist in the sense that they do not try to hide the diversity of human life behind the mask of a universal language” (2008: 305). Instead, he explains, they approach translation in a radically upfront manner, by scripting language contact into their narrative, dialogue and setting in order to “accentuate and celebrate linguistic diversity” (2008: 305). The use of the term “polyglot” therefore denotes a genre of films which have a clear thematic engagement with the authentic representation of languages and contact between cultures. Wahl identifies various subgenres within this category: migration, existential, fraternisation, globalisation, and colonial. There have been comprehensive studies of language use in migration and diasporic polyglot films, including de Higes Andino (2014), and Hargreaves and Kealhofer (2010). Rizzo’s research also focuses on diasporic multilingualism in a British setting, and she notes that “the unprecedented number of migratory influxes within European countries, as well as of the effects of globalisation that have stimulated the growth of new perspectives on multilingual societies” (2018: 95). According to Rizzo “[m]ultilingual films are migrant and diasporic films in which sociolinguistics intervenes as a methodological approach within the translation of marginal voices” (2018: 103). However, rather than focusing on migration and the diaspora, my project focuses on a different kind of multilingualism. Wahl’s categories for polyglot

films do not suit films which involve intra-national languages, instead focusing on inter-national language contact. My project, which involves films in Catalan and Castilian, and occasionally Basque, therefore deals with intra-national languages, where none of the languages are "foreign" to the SC, and does not fit the kind of language contact Wahl privileges. Moreover, polyglot films are films in which languages are a central theme or plotline, and I want to broaden the study to include films in which language is used as a stylistic filmmaking tool rather than a plot in itself. Following de Higes Andino, who defines a multilingual film as "any audiovisual text (TV series, feature film, short film, documentary, etc.) including more than one (live, dead or invented) language" (2016: online) I will use a wider definition of multilingual films for my research. For these reasons, I will use the term "multilingual" rather than "polyglot" for this project. A film can be multilingual without being polyglot, and the functions and effects of multilingualism in a film that does not overtly focus on languages and communication still deserve examination.

As seen from the above discussion, authenticity appears to be one of the most obvious functions of multilingualism in films, but this linguistic realism is just one of the functions fulfilled by language variation. In this thesis, I argue that it is important to understand these functions before considering a translation approach for foreign distribution. Additionally, even if a film does not fit into the polyglot genre as described by Wahl, it does not follow that its use of multilingualism is not significant and should not be marked in translation. Even in films not considered to be polyglot, multilingualism plays a role and deserves to be considered in translation. I agree with Guiseppe De Bonis who, with reference to the filmmaking of Alfred Hitchcock, argues that "conflict and confusion of lingua-cultural identities are effective strategies which help produce the distinctive feature of Hitchcock's films: suspense" (2013: 170). This underlines my belief that even if multilingualism is not used as a theme in itself, as it is in a polyglot film, it can still be important as a filmmaker's tool for aesthetic and narrative effects, and, as De Bonis argues, must be "carefully handled in translation" (2013: 170). The following section shows the various ways in which multilingualism can contribute to a film's plot or style.

2.2.3. The Diegetic Functions of Multilingualism

Just as language is "not simply a system of sounds, words and sentences"; (Wei, 2000: 12), it has many symbolic functions, as a marker of social identity or a barometer of power relationships, so the presence of multiple languages plays many different roles in cinema. Therefore, it is necessary that research establishes a framework for considerations when translating multilingualism, by illustrating what it can contribute to a film, in order to understand the different roles it can play, as well as attempting to formulate strategies for doing so.

Far from being mere "brushstrokes of exoticism", foreign languages can often have a "diegetic, aesthetic and political purpose" (Díaz Cintas, 2011: 217). They can denote, for example, geographical and political borders, cultural and personal dimensions of the various characters, alienation, and understanding or lack thereof between characters (2011: 216). For example, in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, Díaz Cintas explains that the "use of the two main languages, English and Spanish, is highly significant with regard to character portrayal and plot development" (2011: 223). O'Sullivan also notes that "foreign dialogue is no longer merely used as an ornament, to mark location or nationality, but becomes a vehicle for plot and character development" (2007: 84). The use of code-switching and multilingualism by immigrant characters is evident in films set in Spain, according to de Higes Andino, Prats-Rodríguez, Martínez-Sierra and Chaume, in their study of Spanish immigration films from the past few decades (2013). Silvia Monti also identifies that, in films that focus on immigrant characters, multilingualism, and particularly code-switching is a key element of characterisation (the way that performance, dialogue, body language and cinematography contribute to the creation of characters) because these characters often use languages symbolically to express their identity (2016: 69). This type of research often tends to focus on migrant or diasporic films. However, the symbolic use of language to indicate identity has use outside of immigrant situations, for example, in Catalonia, where a large proportion of the native population is bilingual, and many people view the use of Catalan or Castilian as a key part of their identity, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

Realism is often emphasised as a key reason for featuring multilingualism, including in Mingant's (2010) study of *Inglorious Basterds* (Tarantino, 2009), one of the most

overtly multilingual blockbusters of recent years. Mingant (2010) and O'Sullivan (2011) have both highlighted Quentin Tarantino's efforts when casting to make sure that each actor's linguistic proficiency and accent were correct. However, Mingant also identifies the use of foreign languages in the film as verbal ways of establishing location or character portrayal, comic relief or suspense, ultimately illustrating symbolic links between language, life, death, sex and power. O'Sullivan also explains how multiple languages play a role in the narrative structure of *Inglorious Basterds*, by using translation at the beginning to set in motion and structure the plot: "[t]ranslation (or rather non-translation) is the plot device enabling the massacre of the Dreyfuses to take place and resulting in Shoshanna's escape, which sets the plot of the film in motion" (2011: 2). Multilingualism can thus play many roles *in addition* to the realism it conveys, but it can also work against realism: O'Sullivan highlights instances of films where "gratuitous" multilingualism, which is not related to the plot, is added for decorative purposes (2011: 24).

De Bonis also notes that multilingualism can contribute to narrative development as well as realistic representation, for example in *The Secret Agent* (Hitchcock, 1936) (2013: 171). He observes how multilingualism functions in conjunction with other semiotic modes, which all "play a part in raising emotional tension (2013: 171). However, he acknowledges that different languages play different roles in the film; "French is used here in a different way from German: to create confusion by aiming at a slightly humorous effect" (2013: 171). According to de Bonis' categorisation, "multilingualism on screen appears to have three main functions: realistic rendering, conflict, and confusion" (2013: 170). However, it is useful to be more specific at this stage in recognising the effects of these functions. When considering the role played by different languages in a film, we should identify whether, for example, this confusion is used to comic effect or, as de Bonis identifies in Hitchcock's films, for suspense. To conclude, multilingualism has varied diegetic roles in films, from structuring the narrative to influencing character portrayal and development, to heightening emotional tension or comic effects. The next section focuses on the extra-diegetic roles that multilingualism can have, to further underline the significance of their presence.

2.2.4 The Extra-diegetic Functions of Multilingualism

O'Sullivan suggests that additional languages on screen have more far-reaching consequences than a film's diegetic effects and individual meaning, when she argues that they "facilitate crucial forms of resistance to the traditional monolingualism, fringed with exotic linguistic noise, of popular Anglophone film" (2007: 92). She argues that the presence of multilingualism in a text can encourage viewers to learn more about a language or culture (O'Sullivan 2007: 92). Therefore it makes sense to highlight the different languages present, in order for this stimulus to have the best effect. *Inglourious Basterds* is an example of a film that uses multilingualism to comment on mainstream cinema's representations of language, and as such it can be seen an act of resistance. As well as using multilingualism to structure its narrative, its overt engagement with languages and translation also has an effect at an extra-diegetic level, in terms of their cultural and socio-political significance. The film's self-conscious use of language variation contributes to its intertextual elements in order to comment on the cinema industry's conventional treatment of languages. O'Sullivan identifies scenes that act as "a wink to the many narrative 'excuses'" which allow films to use English in situations where it would not be used in real life (2011: 3) such as selective reproduction or referential restriction, discussed in Section 2.2.1. This draws attention to the processes and status of translation both within films and of the films themselves. It "parodies the language management devices of earlier films and flaunts the ways in which foreign languages can contribute to narrative interest, humour, suspense and characterisation" (2011: 4) in order to make us think about how films have treated languages in the past, and how multilingual stories have been told. The film's focus on translation and language competence draws attention to the strategy of referential restriction, highlighting "the extent to which previous films have 'designed out' the need to engage with foreign languages in their narration" (2011: 4). The emphasis on the visibility of languages exemplified in *Inglorious Basterds* is also particularly important in the context of Catalan films, which were forbidden from using the Catalan language during Franco's dictatorship, and Catalan cinema was for many decades mediated through Castilian.

Zhang's (2015) paper on cinematic multilingualism in China also shows how representing languages on screen can create a stimulus for further engagement with these languages. Multilingual films in China have been developed only in recent years, partly due to the Chinese government's policy of promoting Standard Chinese, or Putonghua, and not China's many other languages and dialects. Zhang observes that the "relationship between language and the state has been linked to consolidate state power since at least 221 BC when the Qin emperor standardized the Chinese script" (2015: 388). Laws made in 1956 ensured that Putonghua was "formally adopted as the common speech for the whole nation" including in schools, on the radio, and in films and songs. In the year 2000 a law was introduced to promote the use of "standard spoken and written Chinese for broadcasting, films and TV" (2015: 388). The state emphasises that "serious" programmes must use Putonghua, which implies and enforces a diglossic division in how the different languages are seen: official, serious matters require Putonghua while local languages are deemed unfit for serious issues. However, there has been a renaissance for dialects, as "at the same time as the increasing grassroots approach for protecting local languages and culture, films containing dialects blossomed in the last few years" (2015: 391). Zhang explains that the first film in dialect was produced in 1963, and there are now many more being produced, which are popular with viewers for their "vivid and natural depiction of life at grassroots level" (2015: 391). Foreign films are also now fandubbed into local Chinese dialects and languages. This is part of a wider enthusiasm for dialects, with software and online dictionaries also promoting dialects and local languages. Cinematic multilingualism in China thus feeds into a more general interest in languages. Parallels can be drawn between Chinese multilingual cinema and films made in Spain using the various regional Spanish languages: Catalan, Basque and Galician, which were also historically prevented from appearing in films, and their presence in audiovisual culture has been a key part of their rehabilitation in public life.

The representation of multiple languages in films exists within the context of those languages' perceived status and power in society, and it can influence as well as mirror these situations. Shochat and Stam argue that languages are "caught up in artificial hierarchies rooted in cultural hegemonies and political oppression" (1985:

36). They state that while "languages as abstract entities do not exist in hierarchies of value, languages as lived operate within hierarchies of power" and that this has relevance "not only in obvious conflicts concerning official tongues, but wherever the question of language difference becomes involved with asymmetrical political arrangements" (1985: 52). Their identification of language as "a potent symbol of collective identity" (1985: 52), is echoed by Bleichenbacher, who argues that "conflicts can become more pronounced if different languages are symbolically associated with opposing viewpoints, and it is these symbolic associations that can be fuelled by media representations of multilingualism among others" (2008: 9). Thus representations of languages can not only reflect a lingua-political situation, but also influence it. This point is particularly relevant to my project, since it concerns Castilian and Catalan, two languages that are caught up in an uneven power structure and whose appearance in films both mirrors and comments on this. The details of the context and how it is mediated through cinema will be discussed in Chapter Three. The following section discusses how the languages present in films are translated, first for the original Source Culture audience, through part-subtitling (Section 2.3.1) then for Target Culture (TC) audiences (Section 2.3.2).

2.3 The Translation of Multilingualism

2.3.1 Part-Subtitling

The increase in multilingual films which use foreign languages in a meaningful way, rather than via mere "postcarding" (Wahl, 2008: 337) discussed above has gone hand in hand with the increase in part-subtitling, a technique used in films which incorporate foreign languages, engaging with them for plot and character development. The languages therefore usually require translation for the "original" audience, for whom one or more of the languages will be unknown, for example *Land and Freedom* (Loach, 1995). This is typically done using subtitles, and means that "such films will have no "original" unsubtitled language version, but will be partially subtitled for all audiences" (Romero Fresco, 2013: 209). These subtitles are different from usual interlingual subtitles as they are involved from the start of production, conceived as part of a film rather than added at the distribution stage. This means that, as they are created by filmmakers before and during production rather than outsourced to the translation industry afterwards, they can be more in line

with the style of the film, thus conforming to Romero Fresco's concept of accessible filmmaking (2013). O'Sullivan notes that with these multilingual productions, "[c]loser attention is also being paid to the aesthetics of subtitling" (2007: 84). For instance, in the television series *Heroes* (Kring, 2006-2010), subtitles appear beside the character who is speaking, like "speech bubbles of comic books" (2007: 85). This represents great aesthetic innovation, and the subtitles appear to be more connected with the fabric of the show, rather than an afterthought. Of course, the comic-book style suits the style of this show and would not suit other genres like soap operas or political thrillers. Therefore, subtitles will need to be considered on a case-by-case basis. It also shows the benefits of subtitles being absorbed into the filmmaking process. Not all examples of part-subtitling are treated in an aesthetically innovative way, but the fact that they are produced by filmmakers in collaboration with translators means that such creativity is possible in a way that usual processes do not allow. Moreover, many films and series which make use of part subtitling, including *Heroes,* are "mainstream", rather than cult independent "art films" with small audiences. This shows that part-subtitling can attract large audiences and is commercially viable.

While these part-subtitling methods are for original versions and do not reflect how subtitling is treated in translation for international distribution, its popularity means that viewers may be receptive to experimentation in subtitling in general (O'Sullivan, 2007). O'Sullivan notes that the increased appearance of translation, in the form of part-subtitling, within mainstream cinema could "promote the development of a 'multilingual imagination' in multiplex cinemagoers" (2007: 81). Indeed, if people are becoming more accepting of translation in cinema, there is surely also the potential to depart from traditional strict guidelines for subtitling and allow more creativity. If the innovation can happen for original versions there seems to be no reason for these filmmakers not to also consider subtitling in this way for international distribution, particularly as it is generally a source of the majority of a film's revenue (Romero Fresco, 2013: 202). As Romero Fresco notes, "the increasing use of multilingualism in film and the popularity of part-subtitling to convey it suggest that this type of accessible filmmaking may be here to stay" (2013: 209-210). Therefore, as part-subtitling becomes an established part of the film world, and

viewers become more used to it, they may become more receptive to experimental methods. Indeed, the phenomenon of fansubbing (discussed in Chapter One, Section 1.4) indicates not only a growing market for subtitled products, but also a willingness on the part of fans to play around with subtitles, changing the conventional style to suit the needs of the fans and of the product. The popularity of polyglot films and part-subtitling means that, as Dwyer observes, "subtitles and foreign languages are currently enjoying a new visibility" (2005: 296). This is certainly true of films in their original versions. But how can multilingual films remain multilingual or polyglot when they are translated? Having presented the many ways in which multilingualism is used in original films, the following section explores strategies and techniques for translating them.

2.3.2 Translation for the Target Culture

Having discussed how languages are presented in original versions, this section deals with their translation for exportation. The cinema industry has historically hidden the presence of translation, in favour of the idea of film as a universal language. Indeed, Cronin notes that in the early days of cinema it was hoped that the "divisive languages of humanity would give way to the unifying spectacle of the moving image", creating a universal language (2009: 1). Silent films, of course, lent themselves particularly well to this perceived image of the cinema as universal, and were able to easily transcend linguistic and geographical borders. It should be noted, however, that the idea that visual and other non-verbal signals are understood in the same way all over the world is a fallacy. For instance, there are many culturally specific significances of images or colour symbolism. Moreover, the idea that silent films did not come into contact with translation is also inaccurate. As Dwyer argues, translation was a key part of production and distribution even before the advent of spoken dialogue (2005: 301). She notes that even then, intertitles were swapped, plots were changed, separate versions were filmed, scenes likely to cause offence in particular countries were censored, and the presence of live interpreters at screenings meant that translation was present at every stage. (2005: 301). She notes that "the degree of translation required to preserve the myth of universalism was phenomenal" and that this pervasive myth has been damaging to film translation, because "the actual, everyday operations of translation are forced underground and made

invisible, true to the rules of classical narrative cinema" (2005: 301). Cinema has thus contrived to hide the presence of translation throughout its history, leading to the demand for invisibility in subtitling discussed in Chapter One. Cronin notes that early filmmakers were encouraged to eliminate any diversity in terms of performers or content in order to move the industry towards a more profitable, affluent, "respectable" middle class audience and to "translate the immigrant masses of the United States into a monoglot community of shared values" (2009: 7). However, this multiplicity of voices has not been completely homogenised, and Cronin observes that "the repressed made many return visits to the fretful consciousness of mainstream Hollywood cinema (2009: 7). His book, *Translation goes to the Movies* (2009), discusses instances of visibility of translation and translators within films as acts of "resistance" to this homogenisation.

Given that subtitling norms generally lead towards neutralisation of language and voices, it is natural that "[w]e may therefore expect multilingual texts to be subject to various kinds of monolingual pressure when they are translated." (O'Sullivan, 2011: 177). This means that viewers of a multilingual film in translation may not be given any indication that there are multiple languages being spoken. The cinema industry's efforts to "ignore or disavow the complexities of language difference" (Dwyer, 2005: 297) thus pose a problem for films which have multiple languages: how to work within a framework that does not allow them to exist. As O'Sullivan has argued, acknowledging that a film contains more than one language is crucial to translating a multilingual text, but "film exhibitors and distributors have not, historically, shown themselves eager to do this" (2011: 177). The complexities of film translation, even where the dialogue is only in one language, are often not considered or understood by producers or distributors. Indeed, at the AHRC Public roundtable event, *Films in Translation: All is not Lost*, held at the BFI London Southbank on May 26 2017, a prominent film producer admitted that "as a financier/producer, I only care about the story. The cost of translation is borne by the distributor, but it won't affect my budget". The issue of translations is never discussed by producers in their negotiations with directors, according to this producer. Given this separation between production and distribution, which was established in Chapter One, there is little chance of multilingual films being given any special treatment when it comes to

translation for international distribution. Additionally, de Higes Andino observes that, when translation is discussed for multilingual films, distributors are reluctant to depart from traditional subtitling norms to mark it, for "artistic reasons related to the readability of subtitles" and because they assumed that it was not necessary because audiences should "detect code-switching through the soundtrack" (2016: online). This overestimates viewers' capabilities somewhat. It is true that subtitles, which do not interfere with the original version's audio track, can be said to allow multilingual voices to be heard even in translation. That said, even with the use of subtitles, only members of the TA who are familiar with the source languages will be sure of noticing the interplay of different languages; "those less talented may miss these variations" (Díaz Cintas, 2011: 221). The audience's level of experience of and exposure to a foreign language is as important as the "talent" mentioned by Díaz Cintas. As Shochat and Stam explain, if we are used to hearing a language, if it is close to our own language linguistically or geographically, we "may recognise a substantial proportion of words and phrases" but if a language is more distant, "we may find ourselves adrift on an alien sea of indecipherable phonic substance" (1985: 41). Bartoll also picks up on this issue in the Catalan context, noting that many Europeans are unaware of the linguistic situation in Catalonia, "where even university students who go there on the Erasmus exchange programme are unaware that most of the lessons at a Catalan university will be in this "strange", "unknown" language" (2006: 2). He argues that this means that films with Catalan and Castilian dialogues should therefore have their languages marked in translation. In the case of my project, English-speaking viewers are unlikely to pick up on changes between Catalan and Castilian just from the audio track, because the two languages are quite similar and most people will not have sufficient experience to differentiate them.

This is true of accents and dialiectal variants, as well as separate languages. While they may pick up on differences in accents they have experience of, in this case, in the context of European languages, if a UK audience were watching a film in Japanese and Chinese, for example, the aurality of the linguistic variation may be as lost to them as if the film were dubbed after all. Nonetheless, this paralinguistic information can be very important; depending on their function, language varieties such as accents or dialectal variants can have as much significance as entirely

different languages (Tortoriello, 2012: 99). For example, Tortoriello observes that in many of Fellini's films, "the conscious use of geographical variation in the dialogue and the message that is conveyed linguistically and paralinguistically by means of regional accents has a bearing on the characters' diegetic profile from a pragmatic point of view" and that therefore the subtitler must "avoid producing a version of the dialogue that thoroughly flattens it by levelling out all the paralinguistic nuances that are present in the original" (2012: 102).

Despite the film industry's neglect of the practicalities of translation, multilingualism in original films is on the rise. Mingant observes the increasing trend for Hollywood films to "star foreign actors, and take place in foreign locations" (2010: 10) in order to appeal to audiences around the world. Sanz Ortega also notes the combination of a desire to celebrate diversity through language, and a response to market forces as reasons for the increase in multilingual films (2015: 20). Many blockbusters are now being set in major cities all over the world, seemingly in a bid to appeal to these huge audiences. For example, the *Bourne Identity* series (Liman, 2002), and the *Fantastic Beasts* films (Yates, 2016) which have moved the Harry Potter universe from where it began in the UK to New York, and later to Paris. Export audiences account for the majority of Hollywood films' revenue (Romero Fresco, 2013), so by including locations and actors from diverse countries, filmmakers, producers and distributors can hope for increased box office appeal internationally.

However, the reluctance to think about translation extends beyond the production of subtitles, and affects the promotion of multilingual films. Despite the growing number of multilingual blockbusters, including *Inglorious Basterds* (2009) and Ang Lee's *Life of Pi* (2012), efforts are still being made to disguise the multilingualism of films in trailers and other promotional material. As B. Ruby Rich (2004) has observed, trailers for multilingual films are usually edited so that they are dialogue-free, as if to try to dupe the audience into watching a subtitled film without meaning to. In fact, this idea makes sense according to the logic that viewers find subtitling acceptable because they forget that they are there (Chiaro, 2013). In the duration of a trailer, viewers will not have time to get used to the presence of subtitles in this way, so it could make them think that they will be more jarring than they are. But the subterfuge goes further than this trailer technique; O'Sullivan (2011) notes that DVD

covers also often make it appear that the films they present are monolingual, and she notes the possibility that by not acknowledging or, indeed, advertising, the presence of multiple languages on the covers and other promotional materials, distributors are consciously trying to hide the existence of subtitling in mainstream films, even for viewers of the original versions. Moreover, despite the decisions to shoot in multiple locations and languages, this awareness of what will attract foreign viewers seems to fall away when it comes to distribution in other countries, as multilingualism tends to be erased in translation. Overall, there is a sense that Hollywood and other major film producers are capitalising on this trend for multilingualism and polyglot films, but are unwilling to commit to translating them properly, and are still trying to hide the presence of foreign voices and translation. While, as Mingant notes, the increase in multilingualism is a response to a desire to show a "larger and more authentic representation of the non-American world" (2010: 10) this authentic representation is enjoyed only by source audiences, since multilingualism is not properly represented in the translated versions.

Many AVT studies focus on translation from English into other languages, because of the position of English as a global lingua franca, and the sheer volume of translation this entails. Gottlieb uses the terms "upstream" and "downstream" to refer to translation into and out of English, respectively, because translation into English goes "against the current" (2009). The film industry's elision of multilingualism does not just apply to Hollywood films translated from English into other languages, but carries over to filmmakers and distributors all over the world, including translation into English. When marketing foreign or multilingual films to an Anglophone audience, the tendency to hide the presence of translation makes sense in the context of Anglophonic perceptions of subtitled films. Gottlieb observes that English-speaking audiences are assumed to "have little knowledge or interest in the foreign setting of an otherwise interesting film" (2009: 23). As a result of this perceived closed-mindedness, the multilingual films that Gottlieb studied tended to be subtitled into English in a way that neutralised foreign culture-specific terms in favour of a translation that he claims fits into Venuti's "domestication" strategy. However, Gottlieb found some examples of subtitled films which retained elements of the source cultures, and were more successful than the neutralised/localised foreign

films. This implies that English-speaking audiences are more interested in foreign languages and cultures, and in less domesticating translation methods, than is generally assumed by the film industry, indicating that there is demand for film subtitles which mark language variation rather than flatten it. This is of particular importance to my project, because it concerns the English subtitled versions of films with Castilian and Catalan dialogues, and the translation direction is therefore "upstream" like the films in Gottlieb's paper, rather than the more prevalent "downstream" subtitling from English into other languages.

The previous sections have hinted at the fact that there appears to be a disjunction between how films are made and how they are marketed. Many filmmakers are tapping into a desire to reflect the multilingual world, whether in an attempt to achieve authenticity or to appeal to more viewers, but promoters are reluctant to trust that audiences want to hear a multiplicity of voices. There is, however, evidence to suggest that viewers do want to experience multilingualism and translation. Sanz Ortega (2015) observes that the rise in the number of part-subtitled mainstream Hollywood films, as well as the increasing number of reviews and audience comments that mention the presence of multiple languages, both suggest that distributors' fears of putting audiences off are unfounded (2015: 21). As is also noted by Sanz Ortega (2015: 21), the heterogeneity of audiences means that many people in cinemas are not watching films in their native language, so have already accepted a language that is foreign to them in their film-watching experience. Therefore, hearing foreign languages would not be an obstacle to watching and enjoying a film. This chimes with the research discussed in Chapter One Section 1.3, which established that audiences are able to cope with more complex information in subtitles than is traditionally given to them. They are interested in a multiplicity of languages and source-culture specific information, and have the cognitive skills to readily absorb this information in subtitles. The following Section discusses various methods for providing this information.

2.4 Strategies and Techniques for Translating Multilingualism

First, it should be explained that this project follows de Higes-Andino, Prats-Rodríguez, Martínez-Sierra and Chaume's taxonomy to distinguish between translation strategies and techniques (2013), which is itself adapted from Molina and Hurtado's terminology (2002). In this context, the term *strategy* refers to an approach or intention, and *techniques* refer to the ways that this intention is achieved. Following Bartoll (2006), when translating multilingual films there are two strategies available, namely, whether to mark multilingualism in translation or to leave it unmarked. There are many techniques for the marking of multilingualism, for example, through italics, explicit attribution, colour coding, or other methods. Just as languages in original films have two poles of representation, vehicular matching and homogenisation, so too does their translation, on a scale from neutralisation, or flattening, to marked multilingualism. The term "flattening" is particularly apt for subtitles, because languages and voices are literally flattened into a line or two of text, usually at the bottom of the screen. Shochat and Stam even use the term "levelled" (1985: 48) which has even more destructive connotations. They note that even when original films are multilingual, subtitles have a homogenising effect for foreign viewers, erasing the "exuberant polyglossia of such films" (1985: 48). There are, however, ways for subtitles to provide indications of this "exuberant polyglossia", which will be discussed below.

There are different ideas about methodological approaches for translating multilingual films but there is consensus among many scholars that, where a choice must be made between the two dominant AVT modes, subtitling rather than dubbing is the right option. Wahl believes that "dubbing a polyglot film into one TL is something like a symbolic castration" (2008: 343), and therefore subtitling is preferred. O'Sullivan remarks that the "erosion of multilingualism in dubbing reflects the general tendency towards discursive levelling characteristic of translation" (2011: 183). De Bonis also criticises the neutralisation that occurs with dubbing, arguing that linguistic homogenisation in original versions is often flattened further in dubbed versions, with accents lost and selective reproductions such as foreign greetings translated into the TL (2013). He notes that homogenisation "remains a fairly common practice in the Italian dubbing of multilingual films" (2013: 177). De Bonis ultimately seems to agree with Wahl's dismissal of dubbing,

arguing that "multilingualism appears to be in sharp contrast with dubbing, which by definition involves more linguistic flattening and homogenisation than certain other forms of film translation" (2013: 186). He does, however, observe some nuances in dubbing practice. He identifies three different strategies in the Italian dubbing of Hitchcock's films: "neutralisation of the languages present in the original version by dubbing the entire film into Italian"; "quantitative reduction of the multilingual situations"; and "the preservation of the different lingua-cultural identities present in the original version through a combination of dubbing and other techniques such as contextual translation and diegetic interpreting" (2013: 186). This final strategy preserves multilingualism's role as a "vehicle for suspense" in the films in which it occurs (2013: 186). This shows that, like subtitling, dubbing can achieve different effects and has some techniques to convey multilingualism, especially when combined with other modes of translation.

In Target Countries where dubbing is the norm, many theorists advocate for techniques that mix the two modes of dubbing and subtitling, in order to best replicate the original audience experience of viewing a part subtitled multilingual film. For instance, Sanz Ortega (2015) details how dubbing and subtitling can be used in combination for various multilingual films. This method is not without its challenges, and de Bonis points out that in films that are only partly dubbed there is a risk of aural dissonance when characters are subtitled speaking another language using the original actor's voice (2013: 180). He argues that in such instances "the suspension of linguistic disbelief, upon which dubbing is built as a screen translation mode, can be seriously compromised, revealing dubbing's artifice" (2013: 181). This dissonance can, however, be minimised if voice actors are carefully selected to sound similar to the original actor, or if multilingual actors are able to dub their own scenes.

De Higes-Andino examines the various ways of approaching multilingualism in translation in the context of films with migrant characters set in Britain and their translations into Spanish (2013, 2014, 2016). She investigates the factors that influence how multilingualism is translated, distinguishing between technical and ideological manipulation (2014). According to de Higes Andino, technical restrictions are those that are intrinsic to the text, and ideological manipulation

comes from outside forces, such as distributors (2014). She notes that technical and linguistic constraints, such as long shots, off-camera dialogue, or the particular combination of languages used, can "determine the erasure of multilingualism from the TT, in which case the translation strategy of not marking multilingualism is a result of technical manipulation" (2013: 224). However, she also observes that the absence of filmmakers from the translation process, and pressure from distributors, mean that multilingualism is often untranslated as a result of ideological manipulation (2013, 2014). According to de Higes Andino, distributors of dubbed films do not want to deal with subtitles in addition to dubbing, citing the expense and the change in how the film will be perceived, so it is often difficult to translate a multilingual film using a multiplicity of modes (2013). It should be noted that because of direction of translation, which is from Catalan/Castilian into English, my project focuses on strategies in one translation modality only: subtitling. This is because of the English TC norms; it is much more common in the TL, English, for films to be subtitled rather than dubbed.

Like dubbing, subtitles have a flattening effect on multilingualism. In some ways less so, because, as mentioned above, the original voices can be heard, but in other ways they are more neutralising. As established in Chapter One, the style of conventional subtitles means that linguistic nuances of a monolingual text are ironed out, so rendering more than one language is bound to be just as problematic. However, the process of incorporating subtitles from the outset, as happens in part-subtitled films, rather than as a post-production afterthought, proves that multilingual films *can* be made while being conscious of multilingual issues. Therefore, subtitles for the translation of a whole film for a new TA could also be treated this way, and could respond to and represent multilingualism more effectively.

AVT theorists have put forward and observed various techniques for conveying multilingualism through subtitles, and in Figure 3 de Higes Andino (2016) presents a succinct summary of the various options available for subtitlers, and indicates whether they result in multilingualism being present or erased in the TT.

Translation mode	**Conventions**		**Translation strategies**	
			Multilingualism is marked	**Multilingualism is not marked**

Subtitling	Language	L1	x	
		L2		x
		L3 (same or different)	x	
		Interlanguage	x	
		Box	x	
		Brackets	x	
		Capital letters	x	
		Change of positioning	x	
		Colours	x	
		Italics	x	
		Label	x	
		Quotation marks	x	
		Square brackets	x	
		No special typography		x
Combination of modes			x	
Non-translation	Absence of subtitles		x (if no subtitles are on screen)	x (if dialogues in L3 overlap with L1)

Figure 3, de Higes Andino (2016)

This table uses terminology from Corrius (2008) used by Zabalbeascoa & Corrius (2012) and de Higes Andino (2014, 2016) whereby L1 is the "main" Source language, L2 is the Target language and L3 is the other language present in the text. The above table shows that are wide variety of techniques are available for subtitlers who want to mark multilingualism, including brackets, capital letters, change of positioning, colours, italics, labels, quotation marks, and square brackets. It also shows that the absence of subtitles could also highlight the presence of another language, as long as the language being left untranslated does not overlap in the dialogue with a language that does have subtitles. This section will now discuss how some of the techniques shown here have been considered and evaluated by AVT theorists.

Rizzo divides techniques that mark multilingualism into those that work on a typographical level, on a technical level, and on a lexical level (2018: 105). According to Rizzo, a subtitler using lexical techniques would include "foreign

words, phrases and sentences, signs of exoticism" (2018: 105). This type of lexical intervention recalls the "audiopostcarding" (Wahl, 2008) often found in original versions of films.

"Technical" techniques involve changing the on-screen position of subtitles (Rizzo, 2018: 105). Thus de Higes Andino's technique of "change of positioning" (2016) is a technique that works on a technical level, in Rizzo's categorisation (2018). As an example of this, Sara Ramos Pinto (2019) found the use of headtitles (titles at the top of the screen) was a successful way of providing extra cultural information. The viewers in her experiment did not have an aesthetic objection to these titles, and also expressed the opinion that they would be useful for other films. As such, the use of headtitles to signal a change of language could work well for some multilingual films. This technique exemplifies technical intervention, with the use of an additional location for subtitles, as well as explanatory intervention, by specifying extra information. However, this information can also be conveyed alongside the subtitle in the conventional position at the bottom of the screen. The use of parentheses or square brackets is a way of providing this information typographically. De Higes Andino (2014: 128) observes examples of their use in which an explanatory note appears in addition to or instead of the translation, indicating which language is being used.

Marking multilingualism on a typographical level could be effected through use of colour, italics, or capital letters (Rizzo, 2018: 105). Subtitling for the deaf and hard-of-hearing (SDH) denotes different voices using different colours, and marks language variation using colour coding, thus acting on a typographical level. Incidentally, a study on SDH treatment of multilingualism in films found that viewers of these versions like to have more information about the languages present, preferring vehicular matching or explicit attribution over homogenisation (Szarkowska, Żbikowska & Krejtz, 2013). This is in line with an increasing interest in multilingualism and translation amongst the general viewing public, as observed in Section 2.3.2, and supports my belief that, in general, multilingual films should do more to mark linguistic variation.

Another proponent of typographical intervention, Şerban suggests the use of italics for subtitling multiple languages in a film: "[i]talics can be used to indicate that another language is being spoken, and foreignising translation techniques may be implemented to signal difference" (2012: 50). Bartoll also suggests the use of italics, as well as the use of colours and explicit attribution (2006). For instance, he gives the example of *Monsoon Wedding* by Mira Nair (2002), in which English and Hindi both appear. "In this film, in the Spanish subtitled version for the DVD, normal letter types are used for the English dialogues, but italics are used for the parts originally spoken in Hindi" (Bartoll 2006: 2). Bartoll approves of this solution, but neglects to mention the danger that the use of italics could cast the italicised language as *other*, and therefore be unsuitable for many situations in which this would be an unwelcome connotation. This highlights once more the need for an individualised approach. Indeed, his later suggestion that italics could be used for "secondary" (2006: 3) languages or when a character speaks "improperly" (2006: 4) is dangerous as it seems to equate additional languages, dialects, and even speech impediments, which could have a negative impact on the portrayal of minority languages. At a more pragmatic level, italics are also conventionally used for other reasons in subtitling, such as off-screen voices or telephone conversations, and as such their use could cause confusion (de Higes Andino, 2014: 127). For more than two languages, Bartoll suggests using different colours since this is a common method in SDH (2006: 5). However, if this can be used for more than two languages, there seems to be little reason not to apply it even when there are only two, and thus avoid the potentially problematic use of italics.

Bartoll advocates more freedom with subtitling, and seems to depart from the traditional "invisibility" model discussed in Chapter One. His paper provides interesting assessments of the subtitling of various films, but his discussion is in practical, technical terms, and does not address the potential consequences this has for the film, such as affecting narrative devices or character development. By looking at the function of languages in various multilingual films, as well as their translation, I will develop this line of thought in order to produce more nuanced considerations for translating multilingual films. Because multilingualism is often so

important for plot and character development, this will be more useful than attempting to produce a list of methods that purport to be applicable to any multilingual film. Instead I will emphasise treating each film as an individual case. Obviously it is futile to aim for complete equivalence with the ST; each viewer will understand a film in a different way based on their own unique experience and frame of reference. However, new ways of subtitling must be considered that are able to draw attention to the various languages involved and can present the TA with similar connotations and meanings to those that were apparent for the viewers of the original version.

2.5 Conclusion

The promotion of the "myth of monolingualism" for ideological and political gain has had consequences for both languages and their translation. These consequences are evident in Spain, in the case of Francoist language policy during the dictatorship from 1936 to 1975, which repressed autonomous languages such as Catalan in order to achieve linguistic unity, and are therefore highly relevant to my project, which studies Catalan and Castilian films. Traditionally, translation has been treated as an afterthought by the cinema industry, which has preferred to promote the idea that it speaks a universal language. However, the linguistic turn in cinema and the new popularity of polyglot films and part subtitling have inspired researchers to explore strategies for translating multilingualism. The increase in multilingual films, and their popularity with the viewing public, presents an opportunity for experimentation with more daring techniques. These techniques could involve colour coding, italics, explicit attribution or even translators' notes or glosses. Each will produce a different aesthetic effect and should thus be chosen with care. Before applying these techniques to any and all multilingual films, it is important to understand the functions of multilingualism in the original versions, as this will influence decisions on whether and how to mark linguistic variation. Before thinking about *how* they can be translated, the translator should first consider *if* multiple languages should be marked. This will depend on the style of the film and the centrality of multilingualism to it. Multiple languages in films can be an attempt at vehicular

matching and mimetic accuracy, but they can also have comic or unsettling effects, as well as contributing to character portrayal and plot development. They can also influence perceptions of the languages involved and their status within society. The next chapter therefore introduces the context of films made in Catalonia with Castilian and Catalan dialogue, exploring in more detail the role of languages in society and in cinema, in order to gain a better understanding of which subtitling strategies and techniques could be used when translating such films for an English-speaking audience.

Chapter Three: The Catalan Context and Presentation of Material

3.1 Introduction

This thesis presents three self-contained case-studies of individual films and their English-subtitled versions. It examines the roles played by language variation in the original versions, and how it is reflected in the English language subtitles of each. One of the central aims of this chapter is to introduce the three films that will comprise my case studies. First, it will be useful to provide a brief introduction to cinema in Catalonia in order to set the films within a context of Catalan culture as well as a wider context of Spanish cinema. In order to further contextualise the case studies, this chapter will begin with a discussion of the use of Catalan in Catalonia in recent history and today (Section 3.2). It is important to get a sense of Catalonia's linguistic landscape and people's experience of and attitudes towards languages in the region, to understand the linguistic environment that gives rise to multilingual films. Having discussed the linguistic history of Catalonia, Section 3.3 examines how this has affected Catalan cinema, and provides an overview of the region's cinematic tradition. Section 3.4 describes the process of selecting the case studies, and section 3.5 introduces the three films chosen.

3.2 The Use of Catalan in a Socio-Political Context

When discussing the use of Catalan and Castilian in Catalonia, it is crucial to acknowledge the parts played by each language in the struggle for control over the region. As explained by Pujolar and Gonzàlez, modern language ideologies tend to see languages as "a fundamental component of personal and group identities" (2013: 138). Miller and Miller also note that language is seen as a key part of national identity and is utilized in independence movements for this reason (1996). The existence of a language brings "legitimacy" to the institutions of its community (Pujolar and Gonzàlez, 2013: 138). This is the case in Catalonia, as the Catalan language has long been seen as a symbol of Catalan nationhood. Debate has traditionally focused on conflict between Catalan and Castilian identity, as if these were self-contained and irreconcilable states of being, but in Catalonia today this

binary is not so clear cut, as the majority of people can use both languages comfortably and can claim both Catalan and Castilian identity. In recent years the independence movement has gained ground, leading to the attempted independence referendum of October 2017, which resulted in police violence and the arrests of many of the independence movement's political leaders. Protests and demonstrations on this issue have continued throughout 2019 and into 2020. Linguistic activism has been a part of the Catalan separatist movement, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six. However, as will be seen in this chapter, many people use both Catalan and Castilian without considering themselves to be making a political statement. This dissolving of linguistic boundaries, as Pujolar and Gonzàlez explain (2013), is due both to greater demographic diversity and greater access to Catalan, mainly as a result of Catalan education policy since the 1980s, when the Catalan immersion system was introduced. Therefore, the use of the Catalan language as a symbol of Catalan ethnicity is no longer fitting, and language choice can no longer be understood purely as a symbol of political or ethnic identity, but is often more fluid and personal. This section will briefly explain the consequences of language policy in the recent history of Catalonia, and discuss how people interpret language use today.

3.2.1 History of Language Policy in Catalonia

Understandably, much scholarship focuses on the consequences of the Francoist regime's oppression of Catalan in relation to its recent regeneration and current use. Franco's dictatorship lasted from 1939 until 1975. However, the more distant history of Catalan is also significant, both because it places Catalan within a context that goes beyond Franco's dictatorship, but also as its origins and past cultural and literary traditions imply a strong Catalan cultural history and are thus a key part of Catalan nationalists' argument for independence. The Catalan language developed after the collapse of the Roman Empire and the Catalan territory once extended to Valencia, The Balearic islands, Sicily, Sardinia and even as far as Greece (Miller and Miller, 1996). The Catalan literary tradition has its roots in the medieval period, and was particularly prolific in the 14th and 15th centuries. As Dominic Keown observes, "this golden age simply cannot be ignored as it stands out as a continual point of reference attesting the historic presence of Catalan identity" (2011: 5). The

Renaixença and *Modernista* movements in the 19th century also contributed to the high cultural status and standardisation of Catalan (Miller and Miller, 1996: 116). This historic culture "in the form of recognition of previous achievements in self-legislation, conquest overseas, music, literature and philosophy" is a crucial part of the recovery of a "collective consciousness and the historic legitimacy of particularity and self-governance" (Keown, 2011: 5). Therefore, the cultural history of Catalonia, as well as the language, is an important part of the nationalists' case. The rich literary history of the region has also had a profound impact on the Catalan cinema tradition, in which adaptations from literature form a major part of the canon. This will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.

Despite the wide geographical range of Catalan's early history, over the centuries Catalonia's political power waned as the power of Castille grew, and began to dominate the rest of Spain, until after the 1713 siege of Barcelona during the Wars of Spanish Succession the Catalan language was "discouraged by an increasingly centralised state" (Miller and Miller, 1996: 115). The establishment of the Second Republic in 1931 could have marked a change in fortunes for Catalonia's autonomy, but the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936 and the ensuing dictatorship saw the beginning of decades of intense repression of Catalan. While the Catalan language has played a significant role in the independence movement, the importance of Castilian as a national language to nationalist rhetoric was also key to Franco's dictatorship. As noted in Chapter Two, the idea of a monolingual national community is important to Western national paradigms, and language policy was one of the ways in which Franco ensured control over a unified Spain, as it has traditionally been a key component of the idea of a "nation". In the case of Spain, as Keown argues, "[o]ne of the corollaries of the secular and repressive Unitarianism in Spain of the modern period has been, of course, the international projection of the language and the state as total and homogeneous entities" (2011: 3). Franco's dictatorship suppressed regional languages in favour of universal use of Castilian, in a bid to create a strong unified *patria*, with one language corresponding to one nation. The spoken and written use of Catalan, as well as other regional languages, was prohibited in public places. The "Orden de 23 de abril de 1941", (Order of 23

April 1941) "expressly forbade the use of both foreign languages and those of the autonomous regions in Spain" (Chaume Varela and García de Toro, 2006: 2). Moreover, as Sherry Simon notes, Barcelona was transformed from a Catalan city by the "large population of Spanish-speaking workers from the south of Spain who were lured to Barcelona between 1950 and 1975 as part of Franco's deliberate effort to suppress Catalan culture" (2012: 88). Thus, "for decades, Catalonia was governed by interests that conflicted with, and were far removed from, the social and cultural reality of the region" (Villarroya, 2012: 36). Miller and Miller note that as a result of the cultural oppression and the demographic change engineered by Franco, the number of Catalan speakers in Catalonia decreased dramatically, from 90% in 1939 to 60% in 1975, the year of Franco's death (1996: 117).

After the dictatorship, languages that were previously banned re-entered public life, and were a part of the way in which the regional governments were able to negotiate their power. Article 3.2 of the 1978 Spanish Constitution "recognised the country's cultural and linguistic plurality" leading to "the acknowledgement of the existence of more 'nationalities' within a united and indivisible Spanish 'nation'" (Villarroya, 2012: 34). Regional languages were re-introduced to public life, and in the Statute of Autonomy in 1979 the Generalitat de Catalunya was granted power over language policy in Catalonia, and language was quickly seen as a political instrument to consolidate status and restore Catalan identity to the region: the "normalisation" campaign, which began in 1981, aimed to restore the use of Catalan to all areas of life, after its long repression and consequent decline (Woolard and Frekko, 2013: 130). The use of Catalan was promoted in social interactions, as well as in education, culture and the media. Broadcasting corporations were given quotas to meet; for example, the 1998 Language Policy Act determined that "50% of broadcasting time must be in Catalan and 25% of songs on radio shows must be in Catalan" and the 2005 Audiovisuals Act "establishes that television service providers shall reserve at least 51% of their annual broadcasting time for European audiovisual products in any of the official languages of Catalonia, and at least 50% of these products shall be in Catalan" (Villarroya, 2012: 39). Similar laws have been passed in relation to cinema, such as the legislation of July 2010, which provided quotas for films screenings in Catalan and "has met with strong opposition from the distribution and exhibition

sectors, because of the high costs that the change would entail for the industry" (Villarroya, 2012: 40). Particularly effective was the education immersion system, whereby children are educated primarily in Catalan, thus introducing Catalan into the daily lives of the younger generations. The *Plataforma per la llengua* (the Platform for the Catalan Language, hereafter PPLL), a non-governmental organisation formed in Barcelona in 1993, in order to "defend and promote the Catalan language all over the Catalan territories" (PPLL, 2018: 3) found that Castilian speakers who study under the immersion model are 20% more likely to master Catalan than those who are not educated in the immersion system (PPLL, 2018: 26).

As a result of these "normalisation" policies which had influence across all walks of public life, Catalan is very widely spoken today. According to the PPLL's 2018 report, there are 6,027,006 Catalan speakers in Catalonia (80.4% of the total population), and including other Catalan-speaking areas such as Valencia, the Balearic Islands, La Franja, Andorra, French Catalonia, and Alghero in Sardinia, Catalan speakers number over 10 million. In Catalonia itself, 7,091,477 people are able to understand, if not speak Catalan (out of a population of 7,441,000) and 13,400,074 people in all of the Catalan-speaking regions understand the language. Catalan usage depends on the situation, and on the people involved. The PPLL notes a general downward trend in the use of Catalan; due in part to a general slowing of population growth and to increased immigration from the rest of Spain and abroad, meaning that the number of people who use Catalan as their habitual language has declined in absolute terms (2018: 4). However, there has been an increase in its use by the younger generations: the number of young people speaking Catalan has increased by 5% (PPLL, 2018: 4). While Catalan is now used less in financial transactions, it has increased in terms of radio, television, books and general cultural consumption, and 47.6% of Catalans use the language with their friends (PPLL, 2018: 4).

The results of the Generalitat de Catalunya's Survey of Language Use of the Population 2013 tell a similar story. This report looked at the use of Catalan in citizens aged 15 and over, as well as attitudes and opinions regarding language, in order to build a picture of the linguistic situation and to help plan policies. This survey observes that from 2003-2013 there was an increase of over 701,000 people

of foreign origin in Catalonia, representing 70,000 per year – this provides insight into the PPLL's data on the falling use of Catalan in absolute terms. According to the Generalitat's survey, 600,000 people in Catalonia have a language other than Catalan or Castilian as their first language (2013). The report claims that for 31% of people Catalan is their first language, for 36.4% it is their language of identification and for 36.3% it is their habitual language (2013).

Just as language use varies across demographic lines, each individual speaker may use Catalan or Castilian at different times in their daily life depending on the situation. For instance, the cultural consumption of Catalan is on the rise: the PPLL report shows that 70% listen to Catalan radio, and consumption of cinema in Catalan is up 2.7% on the previous year (although it is still at the low level of 7.3%, while people watch Catalan films more frequently online than at the cinema) (PPLL, 2018). In terms of gaming, in the past two years five videogames have been made for the Playstation 4 console with a Catalan version available. This could be the beginning of an upward trend, but it is a very small proportion of the videogames on offer in the market (PPLL, 2028: 21). According to the PPLL, 89% of the bestselling mobile phones in Spain have the capacity for configuration and spellcheck in Catalan, and 75% of Catalans use the language in messaging and social media (2018). This proportion is higher than the total average who use Catalan in their daily lives, because the younger demographic who use messaging and social media the most also have the highest usage of Catalan. The market is adapting to the demand for Catalan, with an increasing number of options offered (PPLL, 2018: 49). There has also been a recent increase in the use of Catalan in higher education. More master's degrees taught in Catalan are now on offer, an increase for the first time in 5 years (PPLL, 2018). In the academic year 2015-2016 the number of people studying Catalan in foreign universities increased by 12.1% on the year before (PPLL, 2018) indicating interest in Catalan has increased internationally as well as domestically.

The Generalitat's survey found that Catalan is the most frequently used language in the workplace, at 45.5%, higher than Castilian, a combination of the two, or other languages (2013). Moreover, according to the Generalitat, 40% of the population are interested in learning or improving their knowledge of Catalan, with people from abroad most interested, and people from the rest of Spain least interested (2013). The

Generalitat acknowledges that a person's educational background, age, place of birth, employment situation, and location of residence all have an effect on their knowledge and use of languages (2013) but that overall it is far higher amongst the youngest than the oldest generations, who were not educated in Catalan. Catalan is also used more in rural and peripheral areas than in the Barcelona Metropolitan Area (AMB).

The above statistics seem to indicate that Catalan is widely spoken, and its usage would be expected to increase as it is particularly commonly spoken amongst the younger generations. However, in the financial sector, Catalan use has decreased. The PPLL observes that many regional Catalan banks have been incorporated by larger banking conglomerates that use nation-wide systems and technologies, and have restructured the offices, bringing in staff from outside Catalan-speaking areas (2018). This means that there has been a "Castilianisation" of internal dynamics in these banks, where customers would previously have been able to use Catalan in a "less hostile" environment (PPLL, 2018). Thus between 2003 and 2013 there was an 11.6% fall in people using Catalan with bank staff, down to 42.2% (PPLL, 2018). Similarly, in the restaurant industry, in which more and more employees come from other countries, Catalan is not widely spoken (PPLL, 2018).

In terms of administrative procedures, the PPLL claim that ten of the most important procedures of the central Spanish administration cannot be accessed in Catalan. Although the Royal Decree 1465/1999, from the first government of José María Aznar, established that all forms of State Administration in communities with more than one official language must be made available in a bilingual version or a version in each language, many are still not. These include making an appointment to renew a passport or DNI (identity card), checking driving license points, accessing updated and complete state legislation, and tax payments. Only 1.6% of state administrative organisations' websites have a Catalan version, even though the majority of the people who would access this version live in an area where it is an official language. There are also often mistakes in what Catalan content is available on these websites (PPLL, 2018).

Sinner and Wieland (2008) observe that, while Catalan has been successfully normalised in education and public institutions and administration in Catalonia, in other areas of life this has not been so successful. This, they argue, is because it is relatively easy to legislate in these areas, compared to fields like telecommunications, commerce or publishing, where the government has less influence and power (2008). Woolard (2016: 10) also notes that Catalan normalisation has been more successful in municipal government and education than in popular culture or commercial or judicial spheres.

The concept of accommodation (as discussed by Woolard 1989), whereby habitual Catalan speakers switch to Castilian in the company of Castilian speakers, can also be an indication of attitudes to these languages. Sinner and Weiland observe that the tendency to switch to Castilian in formal situations, with Castilian speakers or strangers is ingrained from years of Catalan being in a diglossic position, with Castilian as the dominant language. They write that many Catalans continue to "linguistically adapt to interlocutors" (2008: 137). However, the Generalitat has introduced campaigns attempting to reduce instances of accommodation. Woolard notes that the 2009 campaign urging people to "encomanar el català" (Share the Catalan language) was "explicitly designed to encourage Catalan speakers not to switch to Castilian (the language of interposition between Catalan and the world) when speaking in "multilingual contexts" to interlocutors who on the basis of physical appearance are assumed to be foreigners" (2016: 79). Switching to Castilian in a situation like this indicates that Catalan must be mediated via a more dominant language in interactions with the wider world, and "accommodates an interlocutor at the same time as it reinforces boundaries" (Woolard 2016: 69). Incidentally, the PPLL calls this accommodation procedure "linguistic infidelity" (2018). The use of the value-laden term is not surprising given the political opinions of their organisation. They note that over 70% of Catalan speakers in Catalan-speaking regions switch languages if someone responds in Castilian, while 12% maintain their language and just 2% ask their interlocutor to speak Catalan (2018). Atkinson (2000) explains that the tendency towards accommodation reveals Catalan's minority position in relation to Castilian.

The linguistic normalisation policies of Catalan are often discussed in the context of the transition to democracy in the 1980s, implying that normalisation has been achieved. However, if we take the definition of success used by Miller and Miller, that "language normalisation programmes can only be said to have succeeded when the language in question is used normally in every situation" (1996: 123) then the process appears to be still incomplete, given the reports and habits discussed above. Indeed, as Woolard observes, many Catalan language activists worry that the status of the language is precarious and that normalisation has not been as successful as is being claimed (2016: 11).

However, many people feel that normalisation policies have been pushed too far in favour of Catalan, at the expense of Castilian (Keeley, 2008). Woolard observes that the success of normalisation in local government administration and education has meant that the immersion policy has been met with opposition and political challenges from Spanish speaking parties, especially the Partido Popular, and some Madrid-based politicians claim that Castilian is under threat in Catalonia (2016: 10). David Atkinson also notes that perceptions of the relative health of the two languages can be wildly at odds, ranging from defenders of Catalan who believe that the language is existentially threatened, to "parts of the centralist right in Spain who periodically level accusations of totalitarianism against the language policies of the Catalan autonomous government" (2000: 187).

Indeed, dissent and debate about language policy can be found across Catalan culture. As Gimeno Ugalde argues, "it is well known that since the establishment of democracy, the issue of language as an instrument of cultural mediation in the autonomous communities with their own language has become a frequent source of dispute" (2011: 305). The status of Catalan and Castilian in education has been debated even recently, with challenges to Catalan education being put forward in 2011 and 2012 on the grounds that it was unconstitutional to deny education in Castilian (Woolard and Frekko, 2013: 131). Simon also notes that there has been discontent with the encouragement of Catalan in the field of literature. She cites "the infamous 1997 Foro Babel manifesto which was signed by ninety Barcelona writers and intellectuals in protest against renewed measures to protect and promote the Catalan language" and notes that the novelist Juan Marsé, accepting the Cervantes

prize in 2008, declared “I am Catalan and I write in Spanish and I see nothing abnormal in that … we are enriched by our cultural duality” (Simon, 2012: 90).

3.2.2 Authenticity and Anonymity

This duality is difficult to fit into traditional ways of thinking about languages, which still tend to see language use in *either/or* terms, with the use of one threatening the use of the other, as illustrated above. As Woolard and Frekko argue, in this area language policies have often “been based on a monolingual Romantic national ideal that pits two mutually exclusive languages and corresponding identities against each other” (2013: 129). However, this view is no longer shared by many people in ordinary society, where views on language use have moved beyond this. In Catalonia, bilingualism and multilingualism are experienced and perceived in varied ways, which are “not well reflected in the perennially recurring policy debates” (Woolard and Frekko, 2013: 132). This illustrates a move away from “the view of languages and identities as bounded and unitary, and toward visions of both as hybrid, multiple, and fluid” (Woolard and Frekko, 2013: 134). Catalonia’s recent attempts to make Catalan a language accessible to everyone, not just native speakers, have encouraged flexible bilingualism and eroded the view of language as an ethnic identity marker. Their efforts have borne fruit, as according to the Generalitat’s 2013 language use survey, “intergenerational language transmission" defined as “the difference between the percentage of the population who speak Catalan with their mother and those who use it with their first child” is “favourable to Catalan by 6.2 points” (2013) and these findings are echoed by the 2018 PPLL report which found that 56% of second generation immigrants had begun to use Catalan with their children, when they had not used it with their parents (2018).

This had led to a change in the way the language is perceived and valued. The concepts of authenticity and anonymity (Woolard, 2008) can be useful to understand this transition. Anonymity describes languages that are not perceived to be rooted in any specific community, but which can be used for communication and

representation by everyone "precisely because they belong to no-one-in-particular" (Woolard, 2008: 5). This gives them authority to be heard, as they are seen as "a transparent window on a disinterested rational mind and thus on truth itself", and it is dominant languages that usually have this honour, rather than minoritized languages (Woolard, 2008: 5).

In contrast, in the authenticity framework, the value of a language lies in its relationship to a particular community, in its geographical and social roots. It is seen as "the genuine expression of such a community, or of an essential self" (Woolard, 2008: 2). Woolard writes that the concept of authenticity is rooted in the ideology of "the late 18th and 19th century Romantic notions of language, people, and nation" (2008: 4) and it is now commonly applied to minoritized languages, including Catalan, and is utilized as a part of their claim to nationhood. As Woolard argues, for languages that have been oppressed, "the very survival of subordinated languages and non-standard varieties often depends on their perceived authenticity" (2008: 4). However, while it helps minoritized languages to continue to exist in the face of challenges, the framework of authenticity can also be limiting to a language. When its value lies in social indexicality above anything else, this limits the functions it can have in the public sphere. In other words, "the significance of the authentic voice is taken to be what it signals about who you are more than what you say" and "in some bilingual circumstances, in fact, use of a minority language is taken by some interlocutors to be *exclusively* about its social indexicality, not its referential value" (Woolard, 2008: 3). As Boyer observes, a language framed in terms of anonymity enjoys association with communication, science and technology and modernity, while the authenticity framework is about heritage, tradition, and the past, so the language comes to be seen as antiquated and out of date (2009: 16)

Therefore Catalan's perceived authenticity and ethno-linguistic associations have discouraged non-native speakers from using it, thwarting the Generalitat's aim of making it a public language. There is a tension between the two ideologies: it is the language's perceived authenticity that provides justification for its existence as the language of Catalonia, and supports the policy of promoting Catalan; as Villarroya notes, it was the "strong correlation of Catalan identity with the language" that made promoting the Catalan language such a central policy (2012: 38) but this ideology

also prevents it from becoming a public language. Having recovered from the dictatorship, there has been a drive for it to be used in the public sphere as the main functional language. This necessitates a shift to an anonymity framework, which prizes the referential function rather than social indexicality. Since the 1980s a number of campaigns by the Generalitat have promoted the Catalan language as something that should be used in public spaces and made available to everyone, including "*El català, cosa de tots*" [Catalan, belonging to everyone] (1982), and "*Encomanar el català*" (2009-2010) as was discussed in Section 3.2.1.

3.2.3 Changing relationships to language

The shift from authenticity to anonymity can be seen in the way people interpret the language choices of themselves and those around them. According to Pujolar and Gonzàlez, traditionally, "speakers' bilingual practices have always been sensitive to keeping a clear sense of the boundaries between the two languages as well as between the communities of speakers" (2013: 138). Catalan speakers were careful to use Catalan with other Catalan people, who identified themselves through their use of Catalan, switching to Castilian with non-Catalan interlocutors. This categorization of people as Catalan or Castilian according to the language they spoke clearly fits into the framework of authenticity.

However, while in the past only a few Castilian speakers could speak Catalan, thanks to the efforts of the government to make Catalan a public, "anonymous" language, this is no longer the case, particularly after 30 years of Catalan education policy, as well as more social and geographical mobility. As a consequence, "language choice is moving from a collective to a personal paradigm" (Pujolar and Gonzàlez, 2013: 140), and many more people are bilingual. This means that "young Catalans increasingly rely on contextual factors to decide in which language to speak and that the attribution of group identities is losing relevance" (Pujolar and Gonzàlez, 2013: 139). That is, language choice is no longer about ethnicity or authenticity, it is more fluid. People's perception of whether, and why, they want to use Catalan changes over the course of their lives, for personal reasons as well as in response to the surrounding politics and sociological conditions. According to Woolard's interviews with people who have grown up during the normalisation period, transforming from Castilian speakers to bilingual users of both Catalan and Castilian, "they interpret

their own linguistic growth in apolitical terms of individual maturation" and they "reject the politicization of language" (2013: 213). For them, bilingualism is not consciously related to government language policies but is an individual choice based upon their personal circumstances. They "do not represent language choice within the traditional rhetoric of authenticity" (2013: 222) identifying instead with the ideology of anonymity. Woolard cites various reasons for adopting the language given by a non-native Catalan speaker, including the wish to fit in in Catalonia and "to stop being an immigrant", the desire to use a language they have worked hard to learn, and the sheer enjoyment of learning and speaking a new language (2016: 73).

Due to the personal nature of this shift in language use, this is of course not the case for all speakers. While the general trend has been for a move away from Catalan as a symbol of belonging to a community and of ethnic identity, for some it is still understood in those terms. For example, a native Castilian speaker interviewed by Woolard, Josep's relationship to Catalan is "mediated by a strong sense of the historical, the political, and the sociological" (2013: 222) and when asked about "his personal development and his own linguistic biography, he often responded with socio-historical and political generalization" (2013: 216). Thus, there seems to have been a shift towards anonymity for the majority of speakers, but the ideology of authenticity still seems to inform the interpretations of some. Moreover, traditional association of Catalan speakers with the middle class rather than the working class remains (Miller and Miller, 1996). Simon notes that "Catalan-identified neighbourhoods are scattered throughout the city, in many cases correlated with the upper middle class" (2012: 91) and Pujolar and Gonzàlez observe that, traditionally "'Catalans' stemmed generally from autochthonous families and occupied semi-skilled and skilled professions and 'Castilians' largely came from immigrant families who had provided the less skilled workforce of the growing local industry" (2013: 139). Therefore, in addition to the ethno-linguistic divide, there were also socioeconomic differences between Catalan and Castilian speakers. While the ethno-linguistic classification has largely evaporated, the class divide still exists to an extent, because, as Pujolar and Gonzàlez argue, "those who adopt more Catalan tend to be those that invest in academic qualifications" so "the traditional role of Catalan as an indicator of class is reinforced even as its ethnic associations diminish" (2013:

149). Woolard too notes that it was children of middle and upper class families who were most at home using Catalan (2003). Of course, the high proportion of Catalan use amongst the younger generations, as recorded in the Generalitat survey of 2013 and the PPLL survey of 2018, suggests that this class divide is becoming weaker.

Jacqueline Urla writes that "language activism … is an agent in this story of ideological shift in many ways, sowing the seeds for the weakening of the ethno-nationalist framework with which it began" (2013: 179). Language recuperation depends initially on authenticity, but enacting the policies to maintain this requires a move into anonymity, leading to a shift in the significance of people's language choices. It is no longer always a marker of identity; its meanings are more fluid and personal, although for some they do remain political.

While the view of bilingualism as a situation that brings fluidity and harmony is held by some, for others, this harmonious image of flexibility and equality between the two languages is troubling. Boyer describes a conflictive sociolinguistic view that sees bilingualism as a precursor to monolingualism, in that it paves the way for a minority language to be substituted for a dominant one (2009: 15). Interviewed in 2015 by Jordi Palmer, translator and writer Pau Vidal described the negative effects of bilingualism and coexistence of the two languages, arguing that bilingualism policies are damaging to Catalan, and that politicians are more interested in public perception than actually helping the Catalan language (2015: online). According to Vidal, surveys on the health of Catalan, like those mentioned in Section 3.2.1, can be misleading, because people focus on the more optimistic aspects they show, such as intergenerational transmission, and are not a true reflection of the situation. Vidal argues that bilingualism is not a stable situation, but that one language will always dominate the other, and that the Catalan language is being "polluted" by Castilian phrases, syntax, modes of expression, and pronunciation, which are changing how Catalan is spoken and eroding the Catalan language (2015: online). That is, the problem is not where or how much Catalan is spoken in relation to Castilian, but the latter's effect on the language itself, rather than where or how often it is spoken.

Narcís Garolera (2014) provides concrete examples of the influence of Castilian on Catalan, after observing the changes in the Catalan read and heard in the media

(especially by younger professionals in the media) as well as in advertisements (particularly those translated from Castilian) and political discourse. He argues that Catalan becoming more and more Castilianised, becoming a "catanyol" (2014: 175). Due in part to automatic translations in bilingual news, and conversions of Spanish media, Catalan is taking on the structure and expressions of Castilian (2014: 175). For example, Catalan words or expressions are substituted for the Castilian equivalents, and neologisms are appearing that come directly from Castilian, such as "ubicar" instead of "situar" (2014: 176). Garolera argues that Catalan vocabulary is shrinking as people use "mechanical translations" of Castilian words, for example , the concept of support is now conveyed using a single word, "recolzar" rather than using the various traditional Catalan expressions "fer costat" or "donar suport" to express support for someone or something, or "repenjar-se" to express leaning on something (2014: 177). Thus, according to Garolera, considerable nuance is lost, and these calques are disruptive as they surprise and distract those listening or reading (2014: 176). Garolera notes that, as well as phrases and sayings that are castilianised, more basic elements like pronunciation and syntax are also influenced, and that media outlets should "take urgent measures to redress the growing degradation of spoken and written Catalan" (2014: 182).

Joan Solà also notes that Catalonia has become "Castilianised" and that the Catalan language has been badly damaged because of this (2009: online). Citing the various ways Catalan has been repressed, including laws, violence and the media, Solà views the Spanish government as the enemy of Catalonia, arguing that "Qui intenta destruir la llengua d'un poble és un enemic d'aquest poble" (Anyone trying to destroy the language of a people is an enemy of that people) (2009: online). Solà and Vidal both see independence as the only way to ensure the health of the Catalan language. Vidal argues that an independent Catalonia with Catalan as the predominant official language is the only way to "save" Catalan, and argues that without making Catalan the predominant language there is no point in independence (2015: online). As Gibernau notes, "culture cannot survive without its own political shell: the state" (2013: 7). Solà and Vidal both link language activism with independence movement, but rather than using the existence of a language to support the right to nationhood, they argue that independence is necessary in order to support the language.

While Catalan nationalism has long been present in some form, the demand for independence has recently grown much stronger. In the past the Catalan nationalist movement focussed on objectives such as federalism or political autonomy rather than secession (Gibernau 2014: 109), but national and international events have led to a shift in focus. Gibernau (2013, 2014) identifies three of the main contributing factors influencing this change: firstly the global economic crisis and the attendant increase in unemployment that exacerbated a sense of injustice based on the financial arrangements between Spain and Catalonia, with anger about an 8% annual deficit of GDP for Catalonia resulting in increased support for fiscal autonomy; secondly, the lack of response from the Spanish government of José María Aznar (2000-2004) to demands for greater autonomy, at a time when secession was not being discussed; and finally the legal challenge to the 2006 Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia. In July 2010, after the Constitutional Court suppressed and modified large parts of the 2006 Statute of Autonomy, over a million people protested in Barcelona, with the slogan "Som una nació. Nosaltres decidim" (We are a nation. We decide). In April 2011 the Catalan National Assembly (ANC) formed with the objective of "creating a Catalan state within the European Union" (Gibernau 2013: 21). On 11th September 2012 (the National Day of Catalonia), there was another independence rally with 1.5 million demonstrators. Artur Mas, the president of Catalonia, called a snap election in November 2012 with the promise to hold a referendum if successful. His party, the CiU (Convergence and Union) won fewer seats that expected, but signed an agreement with the second largest party, the ERC (Republican Left of Catalonia), who were also in favour of a referendum on independence. A non-binding self-determination referendum was held in 2014, with the result in favour of independence. This was followed by a referendum on 1 October 2017, which the Spanish government had declared was unconstitutional. The result was overwhelmingly in favour of independence, but the turnout of 42% was affected by anti-independence parties encouraging people not to take part, and by a violent police crackdown. On 27 October 2017 the Parliament of Catalonia unilaterally declared independence from Spain. Many of the members of the Generalitat who were involved in organising the referendum have been imprisoned or are in exile, and there have been frequent protests and demonstrations in Catalonia.

Support for nationalism and independence have grown stronger in Catalonia, and this is often indivisible from questions of language rights, and language use occurs in a heightened political context. However, as has been highlighted in this chapter, residents of Catalonia and its government are also thinking of language use in more flexible, less etholinguistically definitive terms. It is against this backdrop, specifically the years 2009 to 2012, that the films studied in this project were made.

3.3. Catalan cinema

3.3.1 History of Catalan Cinema

The fluid, personal, and particular nature of language choice in Catalonia means that films containing these languages can differ from other types of multilingual films, which often focus on conflict and misunderstanding between generally monolingual speakers of different languages. In Catalonia, most people, and by extension, film characters, are bilingual, so the issue of choice and the reasons for people's decisions to speak either language at particular moments in their lives becomes significant. The personal reasons for people's (or film characters') decisions to speak Catalan or Castilian, and how and why directors choose to include these decisions in films, is significant for the translation of films containing Catalan and Castilian. This thesis will illustrate how the analysis of the deployment of languages in multilingual films can inform translation strategies. It is important to first place the films studied in a cultural context, and this section provides a brief overview of Catalan cinema.

Catalonia's cinema tradition has not had the opportunity to develop a legacy in the way that other cinema traditions have. Indeed, as explained by Manuel Yáñez Murillo, "Catalan cinema has not achieved strong recognition, whether it be on its home turf, within the rest of Spain, or internationally" (2006: 22). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Barcelona was the filmmaking hub of Spain (de España, 1986: 231) but the onset of the Civil War in 1936, followed by decades of suppression of the region's cultural output, meant that Catalan cinema was stopped in its tracks very early in its development. The Civil War broke out and the Catalan language was subsequently forbidden from public life by Franco's regime. As Marvin D'Lugo notes, the dictatorship's policies in the years after the civil war "suggested that the goal of the fascist victors was the intentional extinction of

Catalan culture" (1991: 133). Indeed, the first films in Catalan were not made until the very end of Franco's regime, with *Laia* (Vicenç Lluch i Tamarit) in 1970 (Chaume Varela and García de Toro, 2006).

After the repression of the Franco era, the Generalitat worked hard to build up Catalan language and culture, as highlighted in Section 3.1, which involved creating a successful television presence for Catalan-language programmes. As Gimeno Ugalde points out, these policies also extended to film, indeed, "cinema was not excluded from language debates" (2011: 306). The Institut de Cinema Català was established in 1975, to promote Catalonia's culture and to use film "in the struggle for democracy and political autonomy" (Jordan and Morgan-Tamosunas, 1998: 159). This specifically links Catalan cinema with Catalan politics. Indeed, "well into the 1980s, Catalan cinema was caught up in the struggle over political autonomy, linguistic and cultural normalisation and the recuperation of a nationalist identity" (Jordan and Morgan-Tamosunas, 1998: 180). Moreover, as mentioned above, as recently as 2010 the Generalitat attempted to introduce legislation (Act 20/2010, of 7 July 2010, cinema) to promote and support home-grown Catalan cinema, and to ensure that 50% of films in a language other than Catalan were shown either dubbed or subtitled into Catalan. This was an unpopular idea because of the costs involved for distributors and exhibitors, and the government has since agreed to provide more funding for this, and conceded that only one in four foreign films need be shown in Catalan (Marcos and Mora, online).

However, in comparison with television, Catalan-language films have a smaller presence in Catalonia, where due to the practical impediments such as high production costs and lack of revenue (Gimeno Ugalde, 2011: 308), cinema has taken a back seat to television as a cultural implement. Catalan language films make up a smaller fraction of screenings than films in Castilian, or Hollywood imports (which can be dubbed in Castilian or Catalan, but are usually shown in Castilian) (Gimeno Ugalde, 2011: 308). Meanwhile internationally, Catalan cinema is not widely known. This is not to say that there have not been internationally successful Catalan films, but they have in the past been subsumed into the concept of Spanish cinema (Balló, 1987: 38). Recently however, there has been an increased awareness of Catalan culture with film festivals in Edinburgh, Manchester and London dedicated to

Catalan cinema in the last few years. The ambiguity of language classification contributes to Catalan cinema's lack of visibility. Many films made in Catalonia are made in Castilian. Yáñez Murillo notes that this causes an "identity crisis" because "while the Catalan language is the clearest manifestation of the region's cultural difference, its cinema is, paradoxically, mostly in Spanish" (2006: 22). This has led to a difficulty in defining what constitutes Catalan cinema. For some, the Catalan language is essential to anything claiming to be Catalan cinema, while for others it encompasses all films made in Catalonia. Gimeno Ugalde establishes that Catalan cinema need not be defined by its language, and highlights the distinction between "Catalan cinema" and "cinema in Catalan" (2011: 307). The latter can include films originally in Castilian or other languages which have been dubbed into Catalan. She also notes that films whose original versions are in Catalan will also tend to include other languages, often Castilian, because of the linguistic reality that they reflect or respond to, and that the presence of Castilian, to a greater or lesser extent, is practically the norm for these so-called original Catalan versions and films which combine the two languages are becoming a growing trend in cinema made in Catalonia (2011: 311). The reasons for this trend, as discussed in Chapter Two, include a desire for verisimilitude and authenticity, as well as more "strategic and commercial" reasons (2011: 311). Jordan and Morgan-Tamosunas (1998) argue that Catalan language cinema is not as commercially viable as Castilian and the presence of Castilian may make such films more attractive to both viewers and distributors.

As well as the increase in bilingual film, Catalan cinema is also now becoming more internationally recognised. For example, *Pa negre* (*Black Bread*, Agustí Villaronga, 2010), which is one of the case studies in this thesis, achieved international recognition when it was selected to represent Spanish film at the 84th Academy Awards and, as Gimeno Ugalde argues, it opened the way for cinema in Catalan to have commercial success around the world (2011: 310). This means it is becoming more important to consider the translation of bilingual and multilingual films made in Catalonia for audiences further afield, looking at the functions of this particular kind of multilingualism and how best to translate it.

Although it is a growing trend internationally, there are earlier examples of language variation being used for aesthetic or thematic purposes by Catalan filmmakers to

support political points, such as setting characters in opposition or alliance to each other. In *Dragon rapide* (Jaime Camino, 1986) D'Lugo identifies the motif of the feeling, soulful Catalan speaker in opposition to a ruthless, impersonal Castilian speaker (1991). This motif can also be seen in more recent films, such as *Salvador* (Manuel Huerga, 2006), in which there is a scene where the protagonist's distraught family are at a prison and speaking Catalan together, shown all in one frame and humanised as a family, while the Castilian speaking prison officials, who have no such emotional characterisation, represent the ruthless, cruel Spanish state (Kilpatrick, 2012). In other cases, linguistic variation is used in ways which make very different political points. For example, *El amante bilingüe* (*The Bilingual Lover*, Vicente Aranda, 1993) based on Juan Marsé's 1990 novel of the same name, is a satirical response to the assertive linguistic normalisation policies of the Generalitat after the dictatorship. The romantic female lead is even named "Norma" in reference to linguistic normalisation.

Due to the strong focus on language policy by the Generalitat, and the political debates around Catalan identity, it is tempting at first to read the presence of language contact between Castilian and Catalan in films as an expression of this political and linguistic binary, but it must be remembered that, as established in Section 3.2, many people living in Catalonia do not now see language choice in these terms, and see the language dynamics as more fluid and universal. As such, when analysing the representation of language and communication in films it should be remembered that the functions of multilingualism stretch beyond the political. Many films also include language variations in more varied ways, such as *V.O.S.* (*Original Subtitled Version*, Cesc Gay, 2009), which is another case study in this thesis, *La mosquitera* (*The Mosquito Net*, Agustí Vila, 2010), or *Pau y su hermano* (*Pau and His Brother*, Marc Recha, 2001). However, even if language variation in a film does not have political relevance, it does not mean that it is insignificant to the plot or the film-viewing experience. Therefore one of the aims of this thesis is to draw attention to the diverse ways in which language variation can be used as a device by filmmakers, in order to develop and propose nuanced translation strategies.

3.3.2 Features of Catalan Cinema

Language variation is not the only characteristic of Catalan films, and this section will now highlight various features that are common in the region's cinematic tradition. Film scholar Jordi Balló views the Catalan film industry as one which is cosmopolitan, liberal and stylistically diverse (1986: 38). However, due to its diverse mix of genres, styles and subject matters, it is obviously difficult to find one thread that could define a "national cinema". One of the most often mentioned features of Catalan cinema is simply the idea of Catalanism as difference, from the rest of Spain and especially from the filmmaking styles popular in Madrid. As early as the 1940s, Catalonia engaged with genre cinema, albeit in Castilian, "as an escape from the grandiloquent, epic, fascist films which seemed to be forced currency under the new political regime" (Balló, 1986: 37). It is important to note that, as hinted at above by Balló, certain film styles were "forced" on Madrid, it was not just Catalan cinema that was affected by the dictatorship's censorship, but all of Spanish cinema.

Catalonia's desire for difference continued into the 1960s, with the emergence of the Barcelona school, which took advantage of the relaxation of the censorship laws to produce much more avant-garde films. One of the aims of the Barcelona School was to project an international, outward-looking, innovative image more in line with other parts of Europe than with Spain. D'Lugo explains that the films made by the Barcelona School "mobilized the concept of Catalan identity in a variety of ways in order to rewrite and ideally to displace the Francoist ideal of a Castilianized Spanishness" and were "the most radical approach to the question of cultural identity to surface in that decade" (1991). The School set itself in opposition to "the New Spanish Cinema and its perceived realist limitations" (Yáñez Murillo, 2006: 22). *Fata Morgana* (Vicente Aranda, 1965), which made use of a fractured narrative structure and literary references is a key example (Yáñez Murillo, 2006: 22, D'Lugo, 1991). Although the Barcelona school was disparate, uncommercial and ultimately short-lived, techniques like this, along with a quest to be different, continue to characterize Catalan cinema.

In terms of genre, Balló points out that despite their relative scarcity in comparison with comedies, historical fiction has long been seen as one of the most emblematic genres of Catalan cinema. (1987: 37). For example, *La ciutat cremada* (*The Burnt*

City, Antoni Ribas, 1976) is set in 1909 during the "tragic week" in which there were confrontations between the Spanish army and the working classes of Barcelona and other Catalan cities. Camino's *Las largas vacaciones del 36* (*The Long Holidays of 1936*, 1976) was the "first film to show the civil war from the point of view of the losers" and *Dragon rapide* was "the first fictional approach to the figure of Francisco Franco, and a genuine exorcism for Spanish society" (Balló, 1987: 38). Thus Catalan cinema has made a significant contribution to Spain's examination of historical memory after the dictatorship. This occurs in documentary as well as fiction films. For example, *La vieja memoria* (*The Old Memory*, Jaime Camino, 1977) is a film which shows interviews with participants from both sides of the war, interspersed with documentary footage from the time. This film highlights how recollections are distorted by memory's subjectivity and fallibility (D'Lugo, 1991), a concept that is often engaged with in Catalan and other Spanish films that deal with historical memory.

Another feature that consistently appears in Catalan films is literary inspiration. A large proportion of cinema made in the region is based on Catalan novels or plays. For example, Ventura Pons, one of the most famous Catalan filmmakers, has adapted works by the writer Quim Monzó and the playwrights Josep M. Benet i Jornet and Sergi Belbel, all renowned Catalan writers. This tendency could be partly an attempt to compensate for Catalonia's cultural repression, and reassert a Catalan cultural identity by paying homage to its literature. Indeed, Phyllis Zatlin points out that literary adaptation is important in the creation of a region's cinematic identity, because the presence of a literary canon affirms the culture on which cinema is building (2001: 239). Indeed, the case studies in this thesis are adaptations of one or more literary works. The analysis will therefore take the context presented in this section into account, as the way the films engage with the text could reveal insights about the filmmakers' intentions, which may in turn be significant to translators' decisions.

3.4 Data Selection

Since my hypothesis is that an individual approach to the translation of films is needed, rather than one-size fits all subtitling rules or norms, the project is suited to the case-study method. This is because case studies are meant to be taken on their

own merits, rather than designed to act as samples or examples representing a larger population to which the findings can be applied (Susam-Saraeva, 2009). Nonetheless, while not creating prescriptive subtitling strategies, the insights into the functions of multilingualism in Catalan films that this project elaborates can inform further research by highlighting the many and varied ways that multilingualism can function in films, particularly in the Catalan context, so that these may be recognised and acknowledged in other films.

This PhD, in contrast with previous research on multilingual films, will not impose a quantitative criterion on the amount of multilingualism in the script of a film, when deciding whether or not to include it. While Sanz Ortega argues that "polyglot films using languages recurrently pose more translational problems than polyglot films with a more sporadic use of foreign languages" (2015: 107) and excludes films with only a small amount of multilingualism from her corpus, this restriction is not suited to the present project. This is because the languages involved have a different dynamic from the wide selection of languages present in Sanz Ortega's corpus. As mentioned in Chapter Two, films containing Castilian and Catalan are unlikely to contain tropes typical of "polyglot" films, and their particular setting and context will present different issues and challenges, which will have significance even if the multilingualism is limited to a few scenes. This project focuses on the functions of multilingualism in case studies of individual films of a specific pair of languages, without extrapolating to make generalisations about other languages.

With case studies, Susam-Saraeva argues that "[m]ore fruitful results can be attained by looking at more than one unit at a time, comparing and contrasting several units from a variety of angles, concentrating on the differences as well as the similarities" (2001: 172). My thesis will therefore encompass films made by different directors, set at different times, with varying styles and subject matter.

This section presents the rationale for the selection of the three case studies in this thesis. The films selected were made between 2009 and 2012, a time when the issue of Catalan independence was becoming more mainstream, and political tensions were heightening in the run up to the referendums of 2014 and 2017. Meanwhile, the

use of Catalan and Castilian in daily life had become more flexible than its earlier ethnolinguistic identity-based framework.

According to the Internet Movie Database (imdb) there were 84 films made in Catalan during this time. All films chosen for case studies in this project must have English subtitles, and be available in the UK on DVD. As this research focuses on films which contain Castilian and Catalan, and because the relationship between the languages and the local context are likely to contribute to their use and significance in the films, the films chosen for case studies should be set largely or completely in Catalonia or depict characters who will realistically speak these languages. This means that the language dynamics are likely to have significance rooted in realism and may matter for characterization and plot, as discussed in Chapter Two. I added additional criteria stipulating that the films should not be aimed primarily at children, and that they should not be sequels, or musicals, or animated, since these genres would all raise additional translation issues. Information online was not always complete, but by cross-referencing between catalanfilms.cat, imdb.com and amazon.es, I found 16 films that meet these criteria:

Cinéclub (Salomón Shang, 2009)

V.O.S. (Cesc Gay, 2009)

Bullying (Josetxo San Mateo, 2009).

Caracremada (Lluís Galter, 2010)

Circuit (Xavier Ribera, 2010)

Héroes (Pau Freixas, 2010)

Pa negre (Agustí Villaronga, 2010

La mosquitera (Agustí Vila, 2010)

Lo más importante de la vida es no haber muerto (Olivier Pictet, Marc Recuenco, Pablo Martín Torrado, 2010)

Interferències (Pablo Zareceansky, 2011)

La pausa dels morts (Samuel Sebastian, 2011)

La sombra del sol (David Blanco, 2011)

Els nens salvatges (Patricia Ferreira, 2012)

El sexe dels àngels (Xavier Villaverde, 2012)

El bosc (Oscar Aibar, 2012)

Fènix 11.23 (Joel Joan and Sergi Lara, 2012)

These films include historical dramas, contemporary dramas and comedies, and political cinema, and include films set in Barcelona as well as other urban and rural areas in Catalonia. I selected *V.O.S., Pa negre* and *Fènix 11.23* because they are all from different and distinct genres – historical drama, romantic comedy and dramatized political cinema – but they are all based on literature, in the form of a historical novel, a play, and a biography. As noted above, this unifying factor is a common feature of Catalan cinema.

These films are all set in Catalonia and all contain Castilian and Catalan, though one also contains some Basque, and one contains a small amount of English. Having chosen films that fit into this general category, I will examine the significance of their differences as well as their similarities. For instance, the matter of genre can affect translation strategies, since films that are based on true stories could benefit from subtitles that provide more information, while films with a more poetic style or atmosphere may not benefit from such subtitles. The use of multiple units of analysis will illustrate an important part of the central hypothesis: that multilingualism in films is used in different ways for different reasons, and translation strategies should reflect this individuality.

The films will be discussed as a whole in terms of their themes, genre, and socio-historical context, as well as references to the texts they are based on, with several key scenes from each film closely analysed, as sub units in an embedded case study model. The methodology for this analysis will be discussed in the following chapter. The project will analyse the films as a whole, taking in elements from paratext, to themes, context, and genre, as well as looking at directors' comments and reviews. This will be supplemented by close analysis of key scenes from the films using a framework of multimodal theory. The aim is to determine the contribution that

language variation makes to the complete set of meanings established by all the audiovisual tools at the filmmaker's disposal, and to compare this with the meanings created by the subtitled version, in order to draw conclusions about the most suitable approaches to subtitling these scenes. The next section presents the three films as case studies.

3.5 Material

3.5.1 *Pa Negre*

The first case study will be on *Pa negre* (*Black Bread*, 2010), directed by Agustí Villaronga. Villaronga is a prolific filmmaker who specialises in dark thrillers about the corruption of innocence and the human capacity for evil. For instance, *Tras el cristal* (*In a Glass Cage*, Villaronga, 1986) concerns a paralysed Nazi scientist who tortured and murdered children, who is cared for by one of his former victims. *El mar* (*The Sea*, Villaronga, 2000) tells the story of three childhood friends reunited in a tuberculosis sanatorium, exploring the effects on them of the violence they witnessed during the Spanish Civil War. *Incierta Gloria* (*Uncertain Glory*, Villaronga, 2017) is also set during the civil war, and is about a Republican soldier who falls in love with a widow of a fascist. *Pa Negre* is set in rural Catalonia, and follows a young boy as he tries to understand the dark, violent world surrounding him in the years after the Civil War. Villaronga adapted the film from Emili Teixidor's 2003 novel of the same title, incorporating elements from Teixidor's other novels, *Retrat d'un assassi d'ocells* (Portrait of a bird killer, 1988) and *Sic transit Glòria Swanson* (1979, same title in translation).

Pa negre was produced by Isona Passola of Massa d'Or productions and funded by Televisió de Catalunya. It stars Francesc Colomer as the protagonist, Andreu, Marina Comas as his cousin Núria, Nora Navas as his mother, Florència, and Roger Casamajor as his father, Farriol. There are also appearances by Eduard Fernández, as a teacher, and Sergi López as the town mayor. The film premiered at the San Sebastián Film Festival on 21 September 2010 and was released in Spain on 15 October 2010. The DVD used in the case study was released in 2012. It won many awards at a regional and national level, as well as receiving international acclaim. It was the first Catalan film to be selected to represent Spain at the Academy Awards,

and thus represents a significant step for the recognition of Catalan cinema internationally.

The majority of the dialogue is in Catalan, but there are four scenes which also feature Castilian distributed over the length of the film. The Castilian is spoken by characters with authority, such as teachers or soldiers. Given the post-war context, the Castilian would thus be expected to represent the power of the Spanish State over Catalonia, and to symbolise an intrusion of adult concerns into Andreu's childhood world. Comparative multimodal analysis of the Source and Target Text, combined with contextual analysis, will determine how the language variation functions in the film and to what extent this is represented in translation. The supplementary material that will contribute to the contextual analysis includes reviews, literature on the Spanish Civil War film genre, and comparison with Teixidor's novels.

3.5.2 Fènix 11.23

The second film to be analysed, *Fènix 11.23* (*Phoenix 11.23*, Joel Joan and Sergi Lara, 2012) is based on real events: in 2004, 14-year-old Èric Bertran was accused of terrorism after he was arrested for sending an email demanding that supermarkets label their products in Catalan. His case went to the *Audiencia Nacional*, the high court in Madrid, before being closed six months after his initial arrest.

The film stars Nil Cardoner as Èric Bertran, Rosa Gàmiz and Àlex Casanovas as his parents, Lluís Villanueva as his lawyer Emilio Colmenero, Roberto Álamo as Captain Cardeñosa of the Guardia Civil and Ana Wagener as the prosecutor, Clara. Nil Cardoner and Àlex Casanovas, Ana Wagener and Lluís Villanueva all received Gaudí Award nominations for their acting, and Joan and Lara were nominated for Best Director. The film also received a Gaudí nomination for Best Film in Catalan Language (imdb.com).

Fènix 11.23 engages with the politics of multilingualism in Catalonia and how language policy has affected the residents of the region. In this film the language of power and privilege appears to be Castilian. An activist for the Catalan language, Èric obviously speaks Catalan with his family and acquaintances, and views language use in terms of the political binary discussed above. The majority of the film is in Catalan, and it was written with involvement from Bertràn himself, who

wrote the book *Èric i l'Exèrcit del Fènix* (Èric and the Army of the Phoenix) from which the script is derived, adapted by Hèctor Hernández Vicens and Albert Plans.

The film is partial towards the Catalan language, but in the service of authenticity it includes Castilian in scenes with police or the law. Not only is this authentic, I argue that the linguistic separation also serves to underscore the sense of opposition between the two sets of people. Language is the scene for much of the power play: at many points the young Èric defiantly speaks Catalan when addressed in Castilian by officials. Multimodal and contextual analysis, comprising reviews, comparison with Bertran's book, and a study on the concept of Catalan heroes, will shed light on the centrality of language to the plot and its representation in the TT.

3.5.3 *V.O.S*

The third film to be analysed, *V.O.S,* which stands for "*Versión Original Subtitulada*", meaning "Original Subtitled Version" (Gay, 2009), engages with the subject of multilingual films and part subtitling in a deliberate way. It is based on a 2005 play of the same title by Carol López. The plot concerns two sets of couples who are making a film about themselves. The narrative weaves back and forth between the layers of the "film" and the "film within a film", ultimately dissolving the boundaries between the two. It stars Àgata Roca, Vicenta N'Dongo, Andrés Herrera and Paul Berrondo as the central foursome, and there are several other unnamed characters who appear as the film crew. The screenplay was adapted by the director Cesc Gay, and the film was produced by Marta Esteban and Cruz Rodríguez. *V.O.S*. received a 2010 Gaudí nomination for Best Film in Catalan Language, and won best screenplay and the Special Mention SIGNIS award at the Mar del Plata Film Festival in 2009.

Cesc Gay is well known for films set in and around Barcelona amongst the middle class, focusing on their marriages and personal lives, for example, *En la ciudad* (In the City, 2003) and *Una pistola en cada mano* (A Gun in Each Hand, 2012*). V.O.S.* is also set predominantly in Barcelona. It is a playful film that does not engage with multilingualism at a political level, but uses multilingualism for comedy, characterisation and even at times to subvert realism. Language is also present visually, such as through intertitle-like signs held up on screen at various intervals. This is a film about filmmaking and the director uses various devices, language

variation among them, to distance the viewer. The language variation also contributes to character development, as the characters' use of different languages often corresponds to development of their romantic entanglements. For these reasons the film would benefit from subtitles that highlight the presence of the languages and the process of translation, particularly because "Subtitled" is in the film's name. Characters switch frequently, and, for the most part, easily between Catalan and Castilian. A small amount of Basque is also present in a few scenes. The use of multiple languages contributes to character development and works together with other aspects of the film to distance the viewer from the story and to highlight the filmmaking process.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided important contextual information for the study of Catalan cinema, highlighting how language use has been linked to political change and government policy, as well as discussing the attitudes of people using Catalan and Castilian in their everyday lives. Language choice means different things to different people, and varies depending on their situation, so it is natural that the reasons for and effects of language variation in films will vary at least as much. Therefore, I have chosen films from contrasting genres, set at different times and with different subject matter, to illustrate the breadth of meanings of multilingualism in Catalan cinema. The following chapter will illustrate the methodology for their analysis.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Audiovisual texts are multimodal because they create meaning using several semiotic resources simultaneously, including "speech or the written language of subtitles, film editing, image, music, colour or perspective" among others (Pérez Gonzá lez, 2014: 186-187). My research project examines the significance and functions of multilingualism in multilingual films in order to investigate how the presence of different languages should be treated in subtitles. Multilingualism, which is naturally presented through the verbal channel, must be analysed in relation to other meaning-making modes in film, not just linguistically, as this is how the TA will experience it. A purely linguistic analysis would neglect much of the information provided, as the meaning of the words can change with the presence of visual or acoustic clues. Therefore, a multimodal approach is needed, and is described in Section 4.2. The visual, verbal and acoustic channels are interdependent, that is, meaning is created by all of them together, and they cannot be isolated from one another. The meanings of multilingualism can change, depending on the interplay of these modes, so subtitling approaches should also take these into consideration. Section 4.2.5 provides details on the multimodal transcription system used in this project.

However, the meanings created through these modes also depend upon a broader cultural context. Section 4.3 explains the importance of positioning a film within a broader context to better understand how meaning is created, acknowledging that different audiences approach texts with different cultural knowledge, and discussing a framework to analyse how cultural elements, including language variation, are dealt with in translation. Multimodal analysis puts the verbal component of film translation in the context of the rest of the film, but wider contextual analysis is also necessary, to shed light on the filmmakers' choices and thus on the suitability of potential alternative subtitles.

4.2 Multimodal theory

This section introduces the details of multimodal theory, which is essential to the analysis of audiovisual texts. Research in AVT has in the past been mainly linguistic (Pérez Gonzá lez, 2014: 186) ignoring the nature of audiovisual texts, even if this

is changing in recent studies (e.g. Sanz Ortega, 2015; Bosseaux, 2015). Gambier suggests that the academic background of translation researchers, the practicalities of data collection and the written publication format, which makes describing audiovisual elements challenging, have all contributed to "the lack, until recently, of a relevant methodology to deal with multimodality" (2006: 7). Indeed, as Taylor (2016) argues, recording multimodal information concisely in text form, using multimodal transcription, presents a considerable challenge. This is also echoed by Pérez González, who writes that much audiovisual translation research focuses on "decontextualized stretches of dialogue in the source and target languages, with little or no attention to the interplay between dialogue and visual semiotic resources" (2014: 182). He too suggests a move towards multimodal theory, as "multimodality does not prioritize language at the expense of other meaning-making modes" (2014: 182). Taylor also notes the tendency to focus on linguistic issues without properly analysing other modes, and observes, "[t]he linguistic theories on which translation has been based need to be extended more fully to the multimodal sphere" (2016: 225). The segmented nature of subtitles, the way they 'chop' flowing dialogue into digestible parts, might mean that AVT scholars are unconsciously encouraged to analyse each part on its own, shorn of its surroundings, be they the visual and audio surroundings present in each frame and scene, or the verbal surroundings of the dialogue that comes before and after. A more all-encompassing framework is necessary in order to "better understand the scope and impact of translational decisions in the context of audiovisual texts" (Pérez Gonz á lez, 2014: 224). The above is not to say that the linguistic dimension of films is unimportant. It is of course a key part of cinematic language and should not be neglected as a component part of the whole. As Díaz Cintas argues, translators must pay attention not just to language but also to its relationship to the acoustic kinetic information (2009: 9). The argument that translation studies needs to look at more elements than language is mirrored by film scholar Kozloff's argument that film studies has in turn neglected the verbal in favour of the visual (2010). Sanz Ortega posits that both film studies and translation studies are thus excluding an essential part of the way meaning is created in films, and that they must both "incorporate the elements of film language they generally neglect to produce accurate analyses" (2015: 89). Multimodal theory

therefore presents a framework to analyse the verbal elements of a film in the context of their place within the other semiotic modes.

4.2.1 Filmmaking terminology

Chaume suggests that "knowledge of cinematographic components can better explain audiovisual translation operations" (2004: 16). When elaborating a multimodal framework, researchers should therefore include information based on film language, such as camera angles and editing, in the system of analysing the semiotic modes present. As Sanz Ortega argues, the classification of film language as *mise-en-scène*, cinematography, editing and sound reveals a framework that privileges the visual over the verbal (2015: 83). Indeed, Daniel Chandler provides a useful overview of what he terms the "grammar" of film and television, that is, the different elements that contribute to meaning in audiovisual texts (Chandler, n.d.). He too avoids discussion of dialogue almost entirely, and his description of narrative styles focuses on point-of view in terms of camera-positioning and editing styles. Nonetheless, despite the neglect of language, the terminology of techniques provides a good starting point from which to analyse filmmaking devices and the different ways that meaning is created.

The term "cinematography" refers to how the camera is used, in terms of both its position and its movement (Sanz Ortega, 2015: 85). In terms of their distance from the subject, shots can range from extreme long shots, to medium shots, to extreme close ups. Below is Chandler's image illustrating shot sizes:

Figure 4: Daniel Chandler's illustration of shot sizes

Each of these shot sizes can denote a different relationship between the viewer and the subject. Close ups on characters have particular relevance for dubbing, as noted by Bosseaux (2015), because they increase the need for precise lip-synching, but camera positioning also denotes aspects of communication that have a bearing on subtitling in a practical sense; as Sanz Ortega notes, "when characters speak concurrently, proximity to the camera can dictate the turns to be translated in subtitling" (2015: 86). In more general terms, Sanz Ortega argues that the translator's awareness of "the interpersonal space expressed through these fields of vision allows a better determination of character relations" (2015: 85). The camera angle also has a bearing on how the viewers relate to the characters. As Chandler notes, "in a high angle the camera looks down at a character, making the viewer feel more powerful than him or her, or suggesting an air of detachment" while conversely a low angle shot emphasises the importance of the character (Chandler, n.d.). Camera movement falls into the following categories: panning, where the camera rotates from side to side; tilting, where it rotates from top to bottom or vice versa; zooming, in which the lens changes; tracking, where the camera itself moves around, and crane shots, which are used to provide panoramic views. Figure 5 illustrates camera angles, and Figure 6 illustrates camera movement:

Figure 5: Chandler's illustration of shot angles

Figure 6: Chandler's illustration of camera movement.

While cinematography covers how a frame is seen, the term "*mise en scène*" refers to everything included within it. This comprises the actors' costumes, hair and make-up, as well as their movements and performance, all of which contribute to characterisation, the setting, props, and lighting, which influences what is noticed, and the atmosphere (Bosseaux, 2015: 9). As Sanz Ortega observes, it seems strange to discuss actors' performances without reference to the lines they say, since language is such a "powerful characterisation tool" (2015: 84). Dialogue is, of course, an easy way to find out what a character is thinking, feeling or planning. But

analysis of dialogue can also go beyond its verbal components: Bosseaux (2015) considers the voice, as the physical link between the body and language, to be a significant element of what creates a character. Ramos Pinto's research on *My Fair Lady* (2018) supports this idea, with her argument that Eliza's cockney accent, and later her changed pronunciation, are a key part of her character. The language in which a dialogue is spoken is of course also significant, and indeed, can be a key part of characterisation, for instance, if the language in question falls into Woolard's (2008) "authenticity" framework discussed in Chapter Three, thus becoming a key signifier of identity. Therefore, any discussion of characterisation and performance must take into account these visual, verbal and paraverbal elements.

While *mise en scène* covers what is seen in individual shots, and cinematography refers to how these shots are viewed, editing is the process that ties each shot together, using cuts, dissolves, fades or wipes. A cut is defined as a "sudden change of shot from one viewpoint or location to another" (Chandler, n.d.) and the various types of cut influence how the action is perceived. For instance, a matched cut creates a sense of continuity by keeping a similar subject in the frame, changing shot size by a small amount, or simply comprising a change of angle. Meanwhile, a jump cut is more abrupt and can be used for dramatic emphasis. The cutting rate and rhythm can both contribute to the atmosphere, for example by creating tension. Fades and dissolves are more gradual ways of transitioning between shots, often used to create a change in time or a sense of peace (Chandler, n.d.). Another way to soften a transition between scenes is through sound: a sound bridge creates continuity through dialogue, sound effects or music. The manipulation of sounds, by emphasising some and removing others, contributes to the emotional atmosphere or dramatic effect. Likewise, the absence of sound can also create a sense of apprehension. For instance, in *A Quiet Place* (John Krasinski, 2018) the absence of extra-diegetic sound and the narrow selection of diegetic sound considerably added to the tension. A common element of extra-diegetic sound is music, which is a powerful tool for suggesting the emotions of the characters, and manipulating those of the viewer.

All of the above elements work together across the semiotic channels. It is thus necessary to have an awareness of these filmmaking techniques to see how meaning

is deliberately created across the modes, to provide insight into how dialogue works in conjunction with them, for translation. It is also important to be aware of how subtitles visually fit into a frame whose every element has been selected deliberately. As Gottlieb argues, due to the "complex, polysemiotic nature of film and TV, a comparison between subtitles and (transcribed) dialogue will not suffice for making adequacy judgements" rather, "in judging the quality of subtitles one must examine the degree to which the subtitled version *as a whole* manages to convey the semantic gestalt of the original" (1994: 106). It is therefore important that subtitlers have access to the images their translation will accompany, which as discussed in Chapter One, does not always happen. Moreover, they need an understanding of how the different modes function in relation to one another. According to Baldry and Thibault's "resource integration principle" all the separate meaning-making resources present in a text are integrated "to form a complex whole which cannot be reduced to or explained in terms of the mere sum of its separate parts" (2006:18). Each resource, whether verbal, acoustic or visual, is indivisible from the multimodal whole. This means that even though audiovisual translators can only alter the verbal elements, they must still have an understanding of how texts create meaning through the other modes, as well as through the combination and interaction of these modes. For example, the "manifold connections between colour and camera-movement - and, indeed, the interplay with other sub-modes commanded by the core modes sound and music - communicate emotional information" (Pérez Gonz á lez, 2014: 217). Therefore, as Pérez Gonz á lez argues, "[a]udiovisual translation, understood both as a professional activity and a field of academic research, should be informed by an enhanced, more conscious awareness of what is being communicated through each mode" (2014: 187). For these reasons, my research needs to take all the elements into account through multimodal transcription. Chuang also emphasises the importance of taking a film as a whole, complete unit: "if the translator perceives the representation of a subtitled film as an integrated entity, then he/she could distribute meanings in all modes involved in the text of a film" (2009: 83). Along the same line of thoughts Chuang (2009) also argues that the source text which needs to be translated is not the dialogue but the whole text of a film, and translators must work with modes to distribute meaning. Obviously the subtitler cannot usually change, for

example the audio channel or the image mode[9], but, Chuang argues, "he/she can change i.e. reduce or increase, the functional load of any of them, and to make them operate as a whole to represent the meaning of the source text" (2009: 88). This idea is significant for my project, which contends that subtitles can act as more than an afterthought, an addition to a text, but can act as part of the text by being in harmony with the themes of the film through visually or linguistically creative methods. Subtitles can contribute to, add, or echo meaning in innovative ways, and multimodal theory provides a framework to analyse or devise these methods. Additionally, Fong describes subtitling in strong terms as "parasitic, depending totally on the movie, which is the mother body, for the justification of its existence" (2009: 101), but, perhaps, rather than a parasitic relationship with a film, there could be symbiosis. The following sub-sections describe the classification of the different meaning-making channels in multimodal theory, and introduce the method for data transcription.

4.2.2 The Meaning-Making Modes

As noted by Pérez Gonzá lez "the terms mode and modality designate each type of acoustic and optic meaning-making resources or signs involved in the creation of such composite texts" (2014: 186) the core modes that visual and auditory semiotic resources can be grouped under are: sound, music, image, and language. Below, these core modes are illustrated in chart form with their corresponding sub-modes.

4.2.2.1. Core Mode: Language

Apart from the verbal contents of dialogue, the words being said, there are the medial variants, with their own sub-modes. Language can be deployed through the acoustic channel, in the form of speech, or visually, through diegetic writing or subtitles. Through the acoustic channel, language is presented through the paraverbal medial variant, including sound based features such as tone, volume, intonation, and stress, which influence and change the meaning of words and contribute to characterisation. Bosseaux discusses the elements of voice in relation to dubbing, where it is particularly important, because these paraverbal features are an important part of performance and characterisation, and are necessarily changed by dubbing

9 As Sara Ramos Pinto (2019) has observed, however, image manipulation is starting to occur more often in interlingual translation.

(2015). According to Pérez Gonz á lez, the paraverbal means of speech include "neither the language nor the signs used but the other channels of communication that encompasses intonation, cadence, volume and pitch" and the paraverbal sub-modes "underpin the materialisation of dialogue in AV texts". However, for this project, the language spoken by the character (i.e. whether an utterance is in Catalan or Castilian) will also form part of the paraverbal category because it is another way of presenting the content of the dialogue that influences characterisation and changes how an utterance could be understood. Visually, language is shown in the form of static and animated or dynamic writing. This could be diegetic, for example a letter in a character's handwriting, or as added text. This chart illustrates the medial variants and sub-modes involved.

Medial variants	Sub-modes
Speech- paraverbal	Volume Intonation Accent/phonetics of linguistic variation Language Voice quality Rhythm Speed Pausing
Static writing	Typography Layout Font Colours Ornaments Spacing Margins
Animated writing	All of sub-modes for *static writing,* as well as: Direction Speed Rhythm Special effects

Figure 7: The Language Mode (Adapted from Pérez Gonz á lez, 2014)

In *Pa negre*, one of my case studies, the paraverbal elements of volume, speed, pausing and language combine to indicate the main character's unfamiliarity and unease with a situation in which he has to speak Castilian. A similar effect is achieved in *Fènix 11.23*, to indicate the protagonist's unfamiliarity with Castilian, only in this case it is achieved through the variant of animated writing, as the viewers are shown Èric typing out emails in error-ridden Castilian. Static writing in original versions includes all text on the screen, including diegetic writing such as street

signs, handwritten letters, posters, as well as text added such as a place name or time description. These descriptions are usually in the middle of the screen at the start of a scene. Chapter One described the importance of graphics such as choice of font in adhering to and forming part of the film's visual style. In the TT, subtitles are an added form of graphic writing, and ideally subtitlers should have the resources to match them to the original version's graphics. An example of animated writing can be found at the beginning of *V.O.S.* It presents another visual challenge to a subtitler, since the typography used is distinctive, that of an old-fashioned typewriter, and the sans serif subtitles create a clash. Subtitles constitute additional static writing on the screen, and thus also join the elements of the image in the frame:

4.2.2.2 Core Mode: Image

According to Pérez Gonz á lez, language and image are linked in audiovisual texts to create "inter-modal sense relations and adding to a common mental image that facilitates the viewer's comprehension of the multimodal artefact" (2014: 214). The relationship between the language and image core modes is therefore significant in audiovisual products. The image core mode encompasses both still and moving images, and includes information about filmmaking techniques including lighting, composition, visual effects and camera-work. This chart illustrates the medial variants and sub-modes involved. In the case of this thesis, the sub-mode of non-verbal or body language could be particularly significant in terms of signifying language variation, for instance, it could indicate confusion or frustration due to lack of understanding a particular language.

Medial variants	Sub-modes
Static (still)	Elements Vectors Colour Lighting Size Distance Angle/perspective Composition
Dynamic (moving)	All of the sub-modes for static (still) Camera panning Colours Camera tilting

	Camera cuts Visual effects Non-verbal/body language

Figure 8: The Image Mode (Pérez Gonzá lez, 2014)

The "elements" are all the components that build up the image mode, all the animate and inanimate objects and visual representations, (Pérez Gonzá lez, 2014: 213), thus constituting *mise en scène* in filmmaking terms. The other sub-modes are more related to cinematographic techniques. They are relevant to the translator/subtitler because they support the verbal information, providing information that need not be fully provided in the subtitles in case of space and time constraints. In terms of multilingualism, visual clues can also denote the presence of a particular nationality or culture. For instance, in *Fènix 11.23* flags are frequently visible, both the Catalan flags in Èric's room and the Spanish flags in the offices of both the police and the prosecutor. The visual clues support the changes between Catalan and Castilian speech according to location and situation. Visual clues act in combination with sound, to create realism, evoke emotional effects, and to build a narrative.

4.2.2.3 Core Mode: Sound

Presented through the acoustic channel, "sound effects - in particular natural noises presented in synchronization with the visuals- are the main medial variant through which the core mode of sound is realized in audiovisual texts" (Pérez Gonzá lez, 2014: 204). The core mode of sound can have a strong effect on the audience's perception of emotion (Pérez Gonzá lez, 2014: 204). Although translators rarely have the opportunity to mediate sound effects in translation, they still need to be "aware of their specific semiotic contribution and make the relevant inter-modal connections to ensure that an effective interplay between noises and translated speech or subtitles is in place in the target language version" (Pérez Gonzá lez, 2014: 206). This chart illustrates the medial variants and sub-modes involved.

Medial variants	Sub-modes
Sound effects	Intensity Volume Quality
Spectrograms	Horizontal axis (time) Vertical axis (frequency) Amplitude

Figure 9: the Sound Mode (Pérez Gonzá lez, 2014)

Sound is used in conjunction with the image mode, to present a complete impression of a scene, and also to contribute to atmospheric effects and evoke particular emotions. In the courtroom scene in *Fènix 11.23*, the scene is occasionally interspersed with footage that appears to be from a security camera. The camera angle becomes much higher, the image is black and white with a time stamp across it, and the sound quality changes: it becomes echoey and there is a low level hum that characterises security footage. Thus image and sound work together, to remind the audience that what they are watching is based on real life events, and to underscore the seriousness of the situation. The initial scene analysed in *V.O.S.* presents an example of how image and sound can be used in combinations that disrupt realism: the image mode presents a car moving along a motorway, and the sound mode provides traffic noises, including a car horn. These noises continue even after the image mode reveals that the car is stationary in a studio. The sound mode works particularly closely with music to create emotional effects. The following sub-section discusses the music mode.

4.2.2.4 Core Mode: Music

Music is typically categorised separately from sound, and can be either diegetic, that is, heard within the narrative world of the film, by both characters or viewers, or non-diegetic, and accessible only to the audience. Whether music is diegetic or non-diegetic will depend on its function, for example to illustrate a setting, for realism, or to elicit an emotion from the audience. Additionally, music can be conveyed either through the acoustic channel, as performed or incidental music, or through the visual channel, as a score or sheet music. This chart illustrates the medial variants and sub-modes involved.

Medial variants	Sub-modes
Performed or incidental music	Melody/tune Orchestration Rhythm/time Speed Provenance Lyrics
Score/sheet music	Typography Layout Colours Ornaments Spacing

	Margins

Figure 10: Music (Pérez Gonzá lez, 2014)

In *Fènix 11.23*, when the Guardia Civil arrive to arrest Èric, he is in his bedroom listening to rock music through headphones. The audience is able to hear this music loudly and clearly, so the combination of loud diegetic music and the image of headphones firmly positions the audience alongside the protagonist, with whom they are led to empathise throughout the film. As Èric and the audience hear dogs barking and men's voices, they realise that something is afoot, and then the police arrive at the door.

The above examples illustrate how the meaning from each mode is created through its relationship to the other modes. Baldry and Thibault argue that audiovisual texts are the "composite products of the combined effect of all the resources used to create and interpret them" (2006: 18). Therefore, all these resources must be taken into account, and the language and words used cannot be taken out of the context of the images, sounds, etc., that surround them. All the data available needs to be transcribed in a system of multimodal transcription, which will be elaborated in the following sub-section.

4.2.3 Close Scene Analysis

This section introduces details of how the multimodal data such as that described above have been transcribed in order to be analysed. In *Pa negre* there is a total of four scenes that include both Catalan and Castilian, so all of these scenes will be analysed using multimodal transcription. In *Fènix 11.23* scenes were chosen that showed the two languages interacting at moments of tension and conflict as well as in everyday social settings. In *V.O.S.* language variation occurs almost constantly, and the selection of scenes includes instances in which is it presented visually as well as audibly, and scenes in which it is referenced in the script. According to Baldry and Thibault, the transcription is itself a part of the analytical stage, because "it is a textual record of the attempts we make to synthesise and unpack the co-deployment of the semiotic resources and their unfolding in time as the text develops" (2006: xvi). For this reason, the transcription charts will be included in the multimodal analysis section of each chapter. The specific data transcribed, and the system in which it is presented, is influenced by the research question or focus of the project,

and in turn can influence the results of the research. Since my project focuses on language variation, the transcription includes transcription of the dialogue in the ST, with a column indicating the language of each utterance and a transcription of the English subtitles in the TT. Additionally, since language plays such a significant role in characterisation, the speaker of each utterance will be recorded. The transcription will also include other information presented both through the visual and acoustic channel such as paraverbal information, elements, cinematography and sound effects, bringing the core modes as set out above together into one chart. The close analysis of all the modes involved in scenes which contain multilingualism should shed light on the functions of multilingualism in the scenes, and the themes, narrative points or character portraits to which it contributes, as well as shedding light on the necessity for, or suitability of alternative subtitles, by providing a record of what else is in the frame. Below is an example of the multimodal transcription system, from Chapter Seven:

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	Manu	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen text: Castilian	Espera, espera	Wait, Wait	Visual, dynamic writing appears on a black screen as if being typed: MANU Espera, espera "Extradiegetic" music is also heard: *To Love Somebody* performed by Nina Simone
2	Clara	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen text: Castilian	No, és que no puc.	No, I just can't.	Dynamic writing: CLARA No, es que no puedo.
3	Manu	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen	Pensava que ho havies pensat.	I thought you thought it over.	Dynamic writing: MANU Pensaba que lo habías pensado.

		text: Castilian			
4	Clara	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen text: Castilian	Si, ho havia pensat, pero ara i aquí me entra com…	Yes, and I did, but now, and here, I feel	Dynamic writing: CLARA Sí, lo había pensado pero… ahora y aquí me entra como…
5	Clara	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen text: Castilian	com…com una responsabilitat	like a responsibility …	Dynamic writing: como, como uva—na responsabilidad.
6	Clara	Castilian	Que me corto, que me rajo, que me voy, Manu	I give up, I'm out of here, Manu.	Dynamic writing: Que … me corto que me rajo, que me voy Manu
7	Manu Clara	Catalan	-I em dius ara? -Si et dic ara	-And you tell me now? -Yes.	Wide angle crane shot fades in of coastal motorway on the outskirts of the city, waves breaking, the writing remains visible.
8	Manu	Catalan	Si només es tracta de fer uns polvos	It's just having a few screws.	Scene brightens, writing disappears (song still heard)
9	Clara Manu	Catalan	-No és tan fàcil, som amics -I que fos la primera vegada	-But we're friends. -As if this was our first time.	Cars continue to drive by, high crane shot continues
10	Clara	Catalan	Pero ja fa molt temps, teníem vint anys i ara en tenim..	That was long ago. We were 20 and now…	Cars continue to drive by, high crane shot continues
11	Manu	Catalan	-Doncs fem una	-We could do	Cars continue to

	Clara		inseminació -No, que és molt car	an insemination. -That's too expensive.	drive by, high crane shot continues
12	Clara	Catalan	Es que em projecto, em projecto…	I project myself and see my future…	The camera begins to zoom in the road
13	Clara	Catalan	veig el future i no m'hi veig	and I'm not there.	Camera zooms in on a blue car.
14	Manu	Catalan	pero si sempre ho havies dit, si als trenta-vuit estaves sola, el tindries amb mi	You always said that at 38 if alone, you'd have it with me.	Continues to zoom in on their blue car, Clara driving, Manu in the front seat, Vicky and Ander visible in the back. Car drives out of shot

Figure 11: Example of Multimodal Transcription Chart

By transcribing information conveyed through the verbal, acoustic and visual channels, the data will show any points in which the multilingualism is either the only tool that is conveying a particular significance, in which case it should also be conveyed somehow to the TA, or conversely any meaning which is conveyed by multiple modes, not just multilingualism, in which case it might not be necessary to draw any extra attention to it in the English subtitles. As Munday (2006) and Bosseaux (2015) both observe, studying the interplay between the image on screen and the subtitles can help to determine the strategies that subtitlers can use because the visual elements can communicate linguistic elements that are not conveyed through subtitles. Sanz Ortega also notes that any reduction in verbal information can be "counterbalanced through the visual and acoustic channels as message carriers" (2015: 80). This is one reason why multimodal studies are useful for the determination of translation strategies; they can help decide what is conveyed through other modes and thus does not need to be conveyed through subtitles. Another element to bear in mind when translating language variation, that multimodal theory also helps with, is its centrality to the overall film. If language

variation is deemed to be essential to the understanding or appreciation of a film, and, additionally, is not fully conveyed by other modes, it should be marked in subtitles. Centrality can be evaluated using analysis of the film as a whole, and wider contextual analysis. The following section introduces this contextual analysis.

4.3 Contextual Analysis

4.3.1 The Non-Universality of Images.

As well as close analysis of individual scenes, this project will also look at the films as a whole in terms of their genre and cultural and socio-historical context. As Bosseaux argues, "since performance is culturally bound, any analysis must take into consideration the wider sociocultural and ideological context of audiovisual products in order to get a comprehensive picture of the overall meaning" (2015: 134). Additionally, the concept of Culture-Bound Elements (CBEs) is introduced, and strategies for translating cultural references are discussed.

Having established the importance of all the meaning-making modes, and especially of the visual as well as the verbal for analysis and translation, it is important to point out that not all images are universal across cultures, and so even though the TA has access to the visual mode, it will not necessarily mean as much, or the same thing to them, or help them untangle any confusion left by incomplete information in the subtitles. For example, a subtitler might not feel they have to specify that a character is speaking Catalan if there is a Catalan flag visible, but Anglophone viewers are hardly guaranteed to recognise this flag, and thus the visual mode cannot always be assumed to compensate for gaps in translation. Ramos Pinto's ongoing research, presented at the University of Edinburgh in January 2019, illustrates that different audiences interpret the same images very differently, and this this can drastically alter the understanding of a film, even when the dialogue is translated in subtitles. An example from my own experience as a viewer of a text that includes multilingualism is *Bron/Broen* (*The Bridge*, 2011-2018), a detective thriller set equally in Copenhagen and the city of Malmö in Sweden, which was originally broadcast in these countries and subsequently shown on the BBC. The characters move between the two countries, and the presence of either Swedish or Danish generally correlates with the country they are in. For the SA familiar with these languages, this is not a

problem and the language variation provides useful information as to location, in order to help them follow the story. However, for the TA, very few of whom have experience of either Danish or Swedish, watching the subtitled version, which does not mark language variation, there is often no way to distinguish between the two countries. The settings, which show different parts of Malmö and Copenhagen, or the rather homogeneous countryside, are not helpful to a viewer who has not visited these places, thus even such deliberate visual clues as establishing shots provide little help, and the result is often confusion, at least for this researcher. Therefore it is not only the TA's linguistic knowledge that must be taken into account, as argued by Díaz Cintas (2014), but also their wider knowledge of different places and cultures.[10] Audiovisual research, and ideally, practice, should take into account the context in which the ST was created, in order to better understand how the different meaning making elements, including multilingualism, function within the established traditions that the ST is a part of. Therefore, both semiotic and cultural knowledge is needed, and the research methodology must provide for an awareness of this. Ramos Pinto recognises this, arguing that it is the "tradition established by previous texts and films" that makes it possible for the functions of the extra-linguistic features of language and other meaning-making elements to take effect (2018: 19). We must thus "examine the impact of subtitling strategies both in their multimodal and broader filmic and sociocultural contexts" (Ramos Pinto, 2018: 30). This includes an awareness of the context in which subtitling is produced, the likely knowledge areas of the TA, and also the ST's cultural and societal context. For this reason, contextual analysis will be included in this project, comprising reviews from both the SC and TC, directors' statements, paratextual analysis of promotional materials, which will all help to situate each film with its cultural context. All three of the films are adapted from literary works, and the ways in which this has been done will also form part of the analysis. In the case of *Fènix 11.23*, which is based on true events, the socio-political context of linguistic activism in Catalonia will also be discussed, while for *Pa negre*, details of the genre it ostensibly forms a part of will be examined, since its apparent position within the civil war genre conditions viewers' expectations. The films were chosen because they cover such different subject

10 Another element that must be borne in mind is the heterogeneity of audiences.

matters in different styles, so it is natural that the information needed to place them in their cultural context will vary. Having strengthened the understanding of the cultural context of films, we can look at cultural references within the dialogue, including language variation. The following subsection introduces strategies for rendering cultural references in translation.

4.3.2 Culture-Bound Elements in Translation

Cultural references within the dialogue present "crisis points" for the translator (Pedersen, 2016), as they require strategies that convey the specific SC term to the TA. Pedersen defines Extra-Linguistic Cultural References (ECRs) as references to people, concepts, objects, places or events that will be understood by the SC audience but whose significance will not be understood by viewers from the TC, as it does not fall within their "encyclopaedic cultural knowledge" (Pedersen, 2005). That is, the references would not be understood even if they knew the language in question, since they require cultural awareness. The solutions that the subtitlers decide upon when faced with these references can indicate underlying behaviours and tendencies which shed light on the cultural dynamics at play in a particular language pair, or rather, in the case of translating multilingual texts, a language group. These strategies can be mapped on a spectrum between SL oriented and TL

oriented, as shown in Figure 12 below.

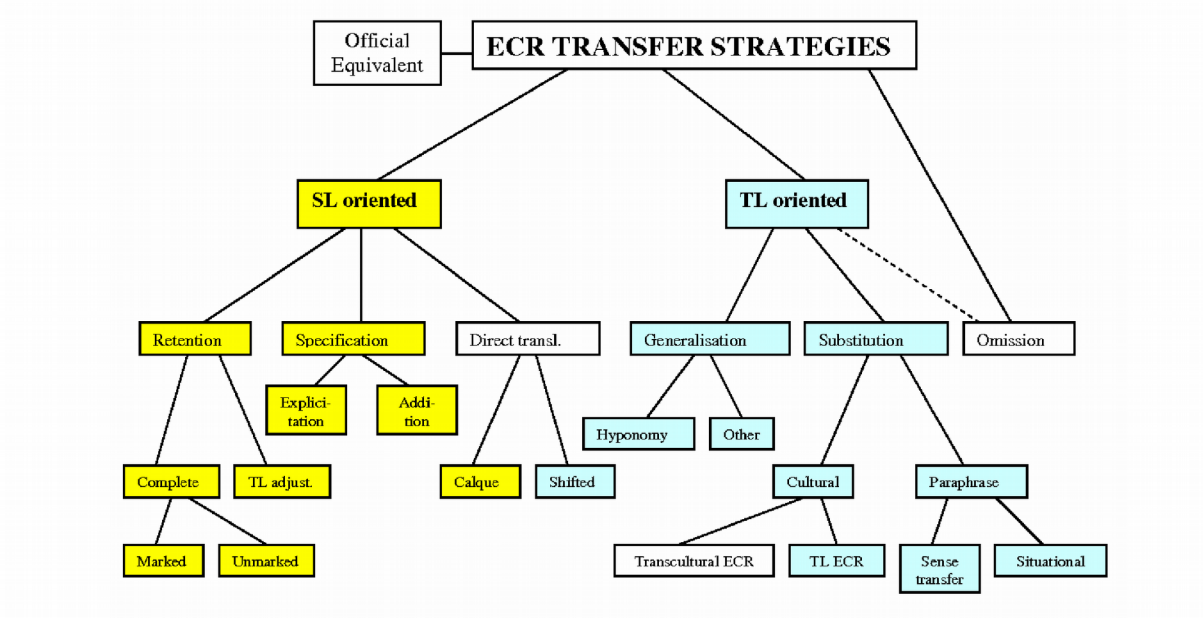

Figure 12: Taxonomy of ECR transfer strategies, (Pedersen, 2005: 4)

Retention involves providing the cultural reference as it is said in the ST, with no adjustments. Specification provides additional clarity for the TA, by adding specific details, and is "used to aid the viewer in understanding the relevant function or connotations of the ST ECR", however adding details without removing ST information takes up character space, so is not always possible (Pedersen, 2016). Generalisation often uses a superordinate term or paraphrase to convey a basic sense of the idea, often the save space or help the viewers (Pedersen, 2016). Substitution involves replacing the reference with a different term, and is often used for government titles, for instance. The time and space constraints of subtitling mean that omission is often a viable option (Pedersen, 2016). Having established a taxonomy of strategies, the decision of which to use can depend on various factors: centrality, extratextuality and transculturality (Pedersen, 2016). Extratextuality defines whether the cultural reference exists outside the text, or whether it has been

created for the text itself, and centrality deals with the degree of importance of the cultural reference to the text (Pedersen, 2016). Pedersen describes centrality in terms of the importance of a cultural reference to the understanding of the plot, or of a particular conversation. However, in the case of language variation, which, as has been established, can have both substantive and stylistic functions, I argue that centrality should be evaluated from the perspective of the film's aesthetic style, as well as understanding of the plot. Thus, both multimodal analysis and contextual analysis can help in deciding this, since both shed light on these elements.

Pedersen uses the term "transculturality" to describe the likelihood of audiences understanding the references (2016). Transcultural references are known by both sets of audiences in question, monocultural references are known by one audience only, and infracultural references are likely to be understood by only a small group within an audience community (2016). An example from *V.O.S.* is the Basque dish "*kokotxas*" which is cod or hake throats poached in a garlic and parsley sauce. The sauce can be made either with or without flour. It is more difficult to get the sauce to thicken without the flour, and there is danger that it will split, so to use flour seems to be the easier option. The two Basque main characters in *V.O.S.*, who are love rivals, fiercely debate which of them cooks *kokotxas* better. Manu mentions in a scathing tone of voice that Ander uses flour, implying that he is not as skilled in the kitchen, or that his version is less authentic. Since this dish is well-known only in the Basque Country and not in the rest of Spain, it would fall into Pedersen's "infracultural" category. When evaluating the likelihood that a reference will be understood, the cultural knowledge of particular groups is not the only factor at play: the reference may be clarified through the visual channel, and will therefore be easier to grasp. Multimodal analysis is therefore useful for such decisions. Wider cultural contextual analysis, such as awareness of genre conventions or historical background information, can also help when making decisions based on the likelihood of understanding.

Although, Pedersen's typology is very insightful, it must be noted that the term "extra-linguistic" does not quite fit this project, since the linguistic dimension, language variation between Catalan and Castilian, also represents a challenging cultural reference. Martínez-Garrido uses the term Culture-Bound Elements (CBEs)

rather than ECRs. Her study takes the films of Ventura Pons as a corpus, which she argues are representative of autochthonous culture and Catalan identity, due in a large part to his use of Catalan literature, and therefore contain many CBEs (2013). This thesis will henceforth also use the term "CBEs" rather than "ECRs" because it is argued that language variation between Castilian and Catalan is itself a Culture-Bound Reference whose significance will not necessarily be understood by an Anglophone audience, who do not have the same experience of the two languages' histories and the nuances of their relationship. Of course, when it comes to explaining this to a TA the subtitlers' options are limited. Realistically they can only point out or draw attention to the presence of a particular language or change in language, not explain these nuances. However, the effects of the other semiotic channels in combination with this can shed light on the effect of the CBE, for example if it is a device for comedy or conflict, the visuals and other sound effects should indicate this.

As Gottlieb (2009) and Martínez-Garrido (2013) found, in the case of translation from smaller to more widely spoken languages, Target oriented solutions are more common than Source oriented solutions, meaning that CBEs are often generalised or omitted, rather than explained or retained, while in the case of major to minor translation, CBEs are maintained more often. These findings relate to the arguments put forward against subtitling's invisibility in Chapter One. Industrial subtitling norms obscure diversity through both form and content, and as subtitling begins to move away from this invisibility, perhaps cultural nuances and diversity can also become more visible.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter established that audiovisual translation needs to look beyond the verbal, to take other semiotic channels into account. It has illustrated how a multimodal approach can enrich both translation studies and film studies, and emphasised the need to take all meaning-making modes into consideration when analysing or translating a multilingual film. It has also indicated how the case studies will be closely analysed using a system of multimodal transcription which will shed light on how CBEs, in particular instances of language variation, are translated; whether they are explicated or omitted, in the subtitles, but also how clear they are in relation to

other semiotic modes. This helps to explain the functions of multilingualism in each scene, and in each film in general, in order to gain insight into the most appropriate subtitling strategies to convey these functions. It has been acknowledged that subtitles do not function alone, but alongside the other meaning modes of the film. However, the films themselves do not exist in a vacuum, and an awareness of their cultural context is as important as close text analysis. The following case studies bring the two approaches together.

Chapter Five: Ghosts of Ghosts: *Pa negre*

5.1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the first of three case studies, analysing the film *Pa negre* (*Black Bread*, Agustí Villaronga, 2010) and its use of Catalan and Castilian, examining the significance of this language variation and how it contributes to the film's themes. *Pa negre* enjoyed local, national and international success, winning 9 Goya awards including best picture and best director, and 13 Gaudí awards again including best picture and best director. It was commended at the San Sebastián International Film Festival, and was chosen to be the Spanish candidate for best foreign language film at the 84th academy awards. It was the first film in Catalan to be chosen for this, and also the first film in Catalan to win "best picture" at the Goyas (Wright, 2013). Success in Spanish film awards is not unusual for films set during or in the aftermath of the Civil War. Indeed, film scholar Jordi Nieto Ferrando (2016) notes that *¡Ay Carmela!* (Carlos Saura, 1991), *El laberinto del fauno* (*Pan's Labyrinth*, Guillermo del Toro, 2006) and *Pa negre* are among the top twenty prizewinning films in Spain.

The majority of *Pa negre*'s scenes are shot in Catalan, with Castilian spoken in a total of four scenes; one at a crime scene, one in the mayor's office and two located in schools. This chapter analyses the significance of this language use, comparing the meanings created in the English subtitled version, in which no attempt is made to mark the presence of two languages. In order to look at the significance of language use and the director's reasons for including it, to determine if it should be preserved in translation, it is first necessary to look in more detail at what these intentions are, and what meanings the language variation is contributing to. This chapter conducts contextual and paratextual analysis, taking into account the historical context of the setting and the time the film was made, the film's position in the "civil war genre", director's notes and its critical and public reception. This will be combined with close multimodal analysis of the four key scenes, to determine the function and importance of language variation.

As will be shown, *Pa negre* deserves to be included in this project because it demonstrates that films can use language variation in a variety of ways. The focus of much research on multilingual films is on those films which use language as a central theme to convey conflict, humour or diasporic narratives, such as *Spanglish* (Brooks, 2004), *Babel* (Iñarritu, 2006) or *Inglorious Basterds* (Tarantino, 2009). The inclusion of a film like *Pa negre* adds variety to this field and illustrates that language variation can be used as one of a filmmaker's many artistic and narrative devices, as well as a substantive theme in itself.

5.1.2 Plot summary

Pa negre is set in rural Catalonia just after the Spanish Civil War, in the early 1940s. The title, which translates as "Black Bread" is a reference to the hunger and hardship suffered by much of the population in these years. The setting is a small, deprived village in which everybody struggles to get by, particularly those who were supporters of the Republic. The film's main protagonist is Andreu, a child who discovers the bodies of a local man, Dionís, and his son in the forest, and whose republican-sympathising father, Farriol, is imprisoned, suspected of their murder. The film follows Andreu as he tries to make sense of the world around him, and to discover the truth about the murders and about a mysterious phantom, "Pitorliua". The embittered widow of Dionís eventually tells Andreu the truth about Pitorliua: that he was a gay man who was brutally attacked and castrated in a cave by a mob led by Farriol and Dionís, who were hired by the Manubens. After a visit to this cave, and a dream or hallucination sequence, which shows him the involvement of his father, Andreu seems to comprehend his father's guilt. The revelation that Pitorliua is not a ghost but a long-dead persecuted man, and that his father is not a hero committed to his Republican ideals, but a mercenary and a murderer, has a profound effect on Andreu, and he makes the choice to abandon his family in order to escape to somewhere better, ultimately siding with the Manubens family, who have brought about his own father's death, in order to pursue his own ambitions.

5.2. Contextual Analysis

5.2.1 Historic Memory

Pa negre is part of the "memory boom" (Wright, 2013: 12) of the last few decades, that is, the cultural and political focus on Spain's civil war and the dictatorship that

followed it. After the death of Franco in 1975, the transition involved a "pacto del olvido" (a pact of forgetting) as a way to break with and move on from the violence and repression that this era represented. This collective amnesia would have been a particularly inviting option for those wanting to leave the past behind because, as Jo Labanyi, a historian of Spanish film, points out, it was a contrast and reaction to the "regime's obsession with memorialising the "Nationalist crusade" as the civil war was renamed" (2007: 93). It was also a way to expeditiously restore democracy, because "all political parties agreed to forget the civil war in order to reach consensus" (Labanyi, 2007: 93). Consequently, there was little opportunity for any reparation for the injustices suffered during this time, because "the transition saw the 1977 Amnesty Law shield any Franco era crime from being brought to trial" (Wright, 2013: 12). Lorraine Ryan notes that this Law "had as its primary objectives the forgetting of the Civil War, and a bracketing of both sides in the same category, that of victim *cum* perpetrator" (2013: 110). By the time democracy had been restored and was well established in the 1990s and 2000s, people began to feel the need to investigate this once forgotten past, in order to restore the narratives of the republicans and those who were oppressed, those whose stories had been censored and suppressed during the regime and unwanted during the transition.

This was enshrined in law in the *Ley de Memoria Histórica* (Law of Historic Memory), which was passed in October 2007. This "stipulated the removal of shields, plaques and statues and other monuments of the Spanish Civil War that exalt the Nationalist side or that can be identified with the Franco Regime from public buildings, and also ratified the provision of funds for exhumations" (Ryan, 2013: 177). Thus the Law of Historic Memory removes evidence of overt Francoist triumphalism, and restores a suppressed narrative, but could be seen to be removing one narrative, which was the only one allowed under the dictatorship, and replacing it with the opposing narrative. According to Ryan, "the noughties can be characterised as the decade of memory in contemporary Spain, the decade which marks the reawakening of a latent Republican memory on both the social and political terrain" (2013: 106). Memory is thus defined in this context not as the act of remembering in itself, but of restoring a specific narrative. In terms of culture, Spain confronted its history through a proliferation of novels and films about the civil war

and its aftermath, in order to "counteract the distortions of Francoist historiography and the official amnesia of the Transition" (Glenn, 2008: 49). Many filmmakers looked back to try to tell the stories that had gone unheard for many decades, to create an alternative history to the one that had been written by the regime. Nieto Ferrando notes that there is often a didactic element to such films, particularly those which have the support of political institutions (2016: 19). Thus, he notes, cinema about the civil war and its aftermath "maintains the social function that was attributed to it under Francoism, but now, and this difference is crucial, it does so in democracy" (2016: 19). The aim of the memory boom in films and novels, to restore Republican narratives, means that there has been a danger of simply reversing the good/evil dichotomy, which under Franco's regime cast the Republicans as dangerous and immoral and the Nationalists as heroes. In many films about the civil war made during the memory boom, the Republicans are undoubtedly good and the Nationalists sadistic and violent. Indeed, Ryan argues that "the cultural memory boom, while rendering a previously taboo memory tangible and accessible, has succumbed to the facile trap of Manichaeism, with exemplary Republicans and contemptible Falangists proliferating" (2013: 122). Hogan (2016) also notes that this Manichaeism, in other words, a tendency to categorise everything in simple, black and white terms of good and evil, is particularly prevalent in the films set in the Civil War with child protagonists, of which there have been many. For example, in the aforementioned *El laberinto del fauno* Sergi López plays a sadistic nationalist army officer and evil stepfather to the heroine Ofelia.

In recent years, however, the focus of some filmmakers has shifted, and the narratives of the 2000s' memory boom, as well as of the dictatorship, are being challenged. This change can be attributed to a generational shift. The *generación de los nietos* (the grandchildren's generation), refers to those who experienced the war in a filtered way, through watching their older relatives and learning their stories, rather than through direct experience, a phenomenon that is also termed "postmemory". *Pa negre*'s director, Villaronga, born in 1953, is one of this generation. The son of a Civil War orphan, he has expressed a desire to move beyond the idea of "two Spains", or the idea of two opposing and opposite narratives to explain Spain's past, saying "I think that it only matters to older people or the

political class, who use all types of weapons to attack. Young people are no longer interested in those things" (quoted in Ryan, 2013: 112). As Ryan argues, there are different generational understandings of memory: "for older people, it was a hegemonic tool that perpetuated partisan divisions, while younger people are repelled by such divisiveness, and eschew it in favour of an eminently ethical stance on memory's use in public life" (2016: 112). In terms of *Pa negre,* made in 2010, the context of the memory boom, as well as the specifically Catalan setting, could lead one to assume that language variation is important as an indicator of conflict between two sides, and repression of dissenting voices, and that it feeds into historical and political themes and should therefore be marked. However, bearing in mind Villaronga's position as a member of the *generación de los nietos*, as well as close analysis of the film's narrative and how it fits into the genre of civil war films, and multimodal analysis of scenes containing language variation, leads to a more complex conclusion about how language functions. It is used as a tool, in conjunction with other devices, to interrogate the overly simplistic dichotomy of the Civil War being about good versus evil, and so to mark language variation may risk undermining this by dividing the characters into misleading categories of oppressor versus oppressed.

Additionally, film scholar Àngel Quintana raises the question of how politically committed directors such as Villaronga are, and whether the historic subject matter is about historic memory policies or more about an opportunity to explore different aesthetics: "[r]eturning to the past may be a way of recovering the realist models abandoned in post-modern cinema, but this fact should lead us to question whether this return is really related to historic memory policies" (2014: 12). Therefore, if accuracy and political history is less of a priority than the film's aesthetics, this implies that marking language variation in the subtitles for accuracy and in order to provide maximum information is less important than conveying the general sense of anxiety and fear, and the spooky atmosphere of the story. The following section, which positions *Pa negre* in relation to the "genre" of films about the Spanish Civil War, sheds light on the director's choices in terms of prioritising stylistic expression or political comment.

5.2.2 The Spanish Civil War as a Film Genre

Nieto Ferrando's (2016) study of Spanish Civil War films as a film genre identifies characteristics in common, such as elements of the supernatural or the fantastic; antagonists who are linked with Franco's regime; the prevalence of child protagonists; everyday, domestic settings; and scenes showing the destitution and desperation of the vanquished, especially contrasted with the luxury enjoyed by those on the political right. There is also often a clear moral division between the "winners" and the "losers", correlating with the political right and the left. At first glance, *Pa negre* seems to incorporate many of these features, and this section argues that Villaronga uses the conventions of the Spanish Civil War genre to build up the viewers' expectations, only to subvert them. The revelations about the characters, and the protagonist's reactions to them, shift the focus onto a more personal as well as universal evil, rather than evil in terms of political or national groups, as it is revealed that the misfortunes suffered by the family are not rooted in their political ideology at all.

Nieto Ferrando notes that these shared characteristics create similarities in terms of characters and storyline, which in turn builds up a set of expectations for the audience (2016). These similarities have come to create shorthand for filmmakers to communicate meaning to their audiences much more economically. As discussed in Chapter Four, these elements derive meaning from their place in an existing tradition. Viewers will understand, without having to be given details, the situations and characters before them, through their experience of watching similar films (Nieto Ferrando, 2016: 806). What Nieto Ferrando highlights is that a genre creates a "blueprint" for directors to follow and helps viewers identify films they will enjoy, forming, as he puts it, "a contract based on expectations that must be met" (2016: 806). We can therefore conclude that in *Pa negre,* Villaronga uses conventions from the Civil War "blueprint", but then undermines the "contract" by subverting the expectations he has built up. As will be discussed in the following section, the director capitalises on associations with other films in the genre in order to do this.

5.2.2.1 Intertextuality

Films within this genre naturally start to use one another as references, as well as referring directly to the historical events they describe (Nieto Ferrando 2016: 806).

This intertextuality is used heavily in *Pa negre* to build up viewers' expectations. For example, the DVD cover, which is the first way many viewers are introduced to the film, includes the phrase "les mentides dels grans crien petits monstres", (or, on the UK DVD cover, "the lies of adults raise little monsters"). This wording recalls an earlier civil war film, *Cría cuervos* (Raise ravens, Carlos Saura, 1976) whose title alludes to the phrase "Cría cuervos y te sacarán los ojos" (raise ravens and they'll pluck out your eyes). The idea of child monstrosity is thus introduced in the minds of viewers who know of Saura's film, before they start watching *Pa negre*. The DVD cover and promotional posters, shown in Figure 13, also refer visually to another early film of the genre, *El espíritu de la colmena* (*The Spirit of the Beehive*, Víctor Erice, 1973). The "dark eyed gaze" (Wright, 2013: 90) of this film's child star, Ana Torrent, (Figure 14) has been referenced in many films since, and the large dark eyes of Francesc Colomer seem to allude to this. Xavi Lezcano also observes that the promotional poster calls to mind other films set after the civil war including *La lengua de las mariposas* (*Butterfly's Tongue*, José Luis Cuerda: 1999) (2011).

Even the casting of *Pa negre* recalls other films of the genre, with Sergi López reprising his role as a fascist captain from *El laberinto del fauno,* which was widely seen both in Spain and internationally (Figures 15 and 16). Many viewers would recognise him from this role, and might, consciously or unconsciously expect him to be a similar kind of villain, especially considering the films' other similarities, their post-war setting and child protagonists. As Nieto Ferrando notes, "a viewer has no problems understanding the mayor in *Pa negre*, but he will lose some of his – connoted – meaning if they have not seen the terrifying Vidal in *El laberinto del fauno*" (2016: 821). In terms of villains, they tend to be falangists, as in *El laberinto del fauno*, or other figures associated with the regime: priests, black marketeers, or civil guard, who are "inevitably tied to the circumstances generated by the conflict" (Nieto Ferrando, 2016: 811). Even if it is not necessary to have seen all these films in order to understand or follow *Pa negre*, it can be claimed that many nuances are built up through such intertextual allusions. Ana Torrent and Francesc Colomer are just two of many children who have starred in films of this nature, and the figure of the child protagonist will be discussed in the following section.

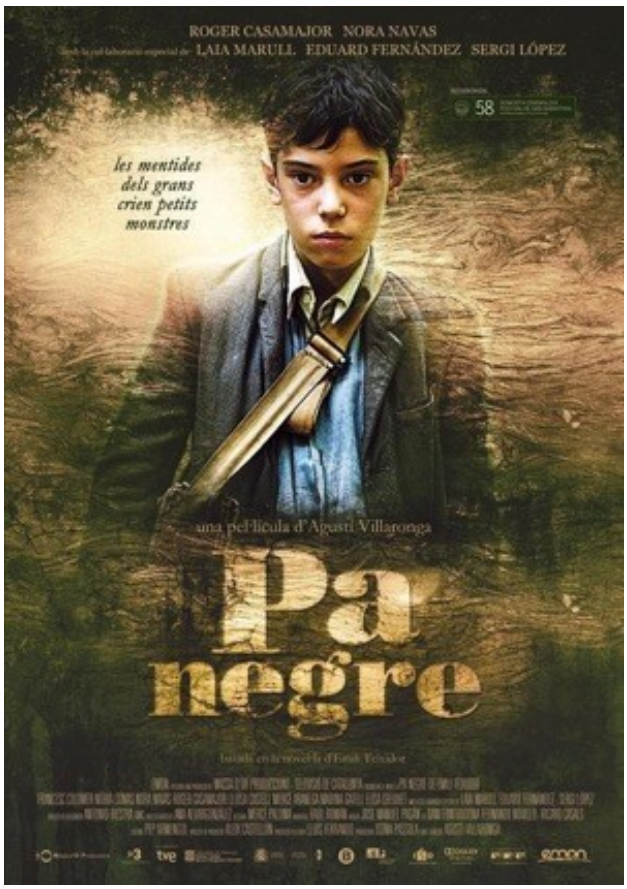

Figure 13: The DVD cover for *Pa negre*

Figure 14: Ana Torrent in *El espiritu de la colmena*

Figure 15: Sergi López in *El laberinto del fauno*

Figure 16: Sergi López in *Pa negre*

5.2.2.2 Child Protagonists

Another feature of the "Civil War genre" is a focus on interior scenes and domestic, family settings. Again, *El espíritu de la colmena* is a major influence in this way. It was produced in 1973, before the death of Franco, and this accounts for the tendency to allude to rather than show aspects of the Civil War and the Francoist regime, in

order to get past censorship. This is one reason why such films tend to be set within a family and in a home environment. Violence and conflict is transferred from a national to a domestic scale, and characters and situations are understood to be ciphers, representative of larger concepts (Nieto Ferrando 2016).

The presence of child protagonists is also central to the Civil War genre. Wright argues that the child, or childhood, represents a link to the past, so it is natural that they would have such a large role in the "memory boom". The child acts as a metaphor for the self, and is a way to reach individual and national, inherited memory for "a nation trying to come to terms with years of cultural brainwashing" (Wright, 2013: 14). The concept of the child as innocent and witness to war is an inviting framework for viewers: looking through their perspective but also observing their involvement "oscillating between innocence and knowingness" (Wright, 2013: 90). Andreu's cousin, Núria, is a clear example of this tension between innocence and experience in *Pa negre.* A loss of innocence due to witnessing the horrors of the conflict is a common motif. Nieto Ferrando notes that the children in Civil War films "start off from a situation marked by innocence to mature prematurely due to the circumstances of war or post-war, on contact with death" (2016: 817). According to film scholar Marsha Kinder, the child-witness represents a generation of Spanish filmmakers who grew up amid the impact of the post-civil war era and who, "because of the oppressive domination of the previous generation, were obsessed with the past and might never be ready to take responsibility for changing the future" (Kinder, 1983: 58). Villaronga, as part of the generation after this, the *generación de los nietos*, exhibits a more ambivalent relationship with memory and the past. Both Wright (2013) and Nieto Ferrando (2016) note that the child in Civil War films tends to have an absent, or dead, father figure, and Wright adds that this is generally symbolic of the lost Republican generation, and is often "embodied as a longing for or death wish against the father figure" (93). In *Pa negre*, Andreu's father is believed to have fled to France, but then they are reunited only for Farriol to be executed because of a decision Andreu has made. As a consequence the film seems to embody and challenge all the complex inter-generational issues common to Civil War films. Wright states that over the course of the film "the components of the 'child and the Spanish Civil War' genre are dismantled", because Andreu's father is initially linked

with Republicanism but then "shown to be a profiteer (rather than an ideologue corrupted by war) whilst his speeches to Andreu about morals are false rhetoric" (2013: 124). Andreu's feelings towards his father are as conflicted as the character of Farriol himself, who can be seen as both a cynical opportunist and a desperate and dejected ideologue.

A counterpoint to the concept of the child as innocent witness is the monstrous child motif, which is frequently seen in Spanish Civil War films. Wright notes that there has been "a concatenation of more or less conscious intertextual references to children and monsters or to monstrous children in an intertextual dance through time", beginning with *El espiritu de la colmena* (2013: 94). This, she argues, represents Spain's confrontation with its violent past (2013). *Pa negre* makes an explicit link between Andreu and the monstrous in the closing scenes. His decision to abandon his family for the Manubens ties into the concept of the "niño perdido" (lost child), which relates to "stories of how children, born to Communist families, were taken from their families and adopted by other, right-wing parents" (Wright, 2013: 14). However, the fact that this is explicitly Andreu's decision presents a different side to this situation, in a way that further complicates the good/bad winners/losers binary. Villaronga utilises the concept of the child in civil war films, and all of its connotations, to challenge the often simplistic idea of historic memory by presenting a story that does not divide people into political or moral categories but shows the polluting nature of violence and deprivation at a more universal level. The issue of subtitling is therefore not straightforward, because TT subtitles which mark language variation and thereby impose a visual division between speakers would be misleading.

5.2.2.3 Haunted hauntings

There is often a supernatural element to civil war films, particularly those starring children. Labanyi argues that the concept of haunting is a popular device because it "stresses the legacy of the past to the present: a legacy which—as in most ghost stories—is one of injustice requiring reparation" (2007: 113). It is thus well suited to the culture of memory which sought to restore the Republican narrative after years of Francoist propaganda followed by silence. It is widely acknowledged that Erice's *El espiritu de la colmena* was enormously influential in this way (Nieto Ferrando, 2016;

Wright, 2013), as it introduced the presence of supernatural or fantastical elements. This is of course a useful device in a pragmatic as well as metaphorical sense; as Labanyi notes, "the reason for the adoption of the haunting motif in both Erice's *The Spirit of the Beehive* and Saura's *Raise Ravens* was, at a practical level, the continued existence of censorship, which required indirect forms of expression" (2007: 97). Nieto Ferrando (2016) recognises that this juxtaposition of a realist story with a fantasy world is also shared by films such as *El laberinto del fauno* (2006) and *El espinazo del diablo* (*The Devil's Backbone*, 2001), both directed by Guillermo del Toro. Using Tzvetan Todorov's definition of the Fantastic in literature (1981), Nieto Ferrando explains that it is the presence of a supernatural event in a realistic world, and the sense of imbalance this creates in both the character and the reader/viewer, that creates a sense of the fantastic (2016). In *Pa negre*, the supernatural element is embodied by the mysterious "Pitorliua". This is the last word uttered by a dying child in the film's shockingly violent opening sequence, and Andreu soon explains that it could refer to the name of a ghost who haunts a cave in the nearby forest. The same forest that, Andreu's mother says, has been cursed since the war. The other definition for "Pitorliua" that Andreu offers is a type of native bird. It is this tension between a rational and a supernatural explanation of events that Villaronga plays on in *Pa negre*. This offering of two definitions seems to explicitly bring to mind the framework of a fantasy style film such as those mentioned above, in which real life and supernatural occurrences are juxtaposed. Zubiaur also observes that Pitorliua initially seems to correspond with the supernatural creatures of previous films (2016: 72). However, these intertextually conjured monsters "soon disappear from the attic, because the monsters of Villaronga are of flesh and bone and live inside their tortured human beings, be they old or young" (Zubiaur, 2016: 73). In revealing that the truth of Pitorliua is simply human cruelty and violence, Villaronga subverts the expectations of viewers who had anticipated a film like *El laberinto del fauno.*

It is Andreu's curiosity about Pitorliua that leads to the film's key revelation, about Pitorliua's true identity and Andreu's father's involvement in his fate. This revelation unties the political links that had been built by the film's nods to the conventions of the genre, and refocuses on apolitical, personal, universal evil. Rather than the "human monsters" created by the Civil War identified by Nieto Ferrando above, the

real villains are revealed to be Farriol and Dionís, motivated by money since long before the conflict. The family's misfortune, therefore, is not caused by persecution because of Farriol's supposed Republicanism, but stems from his mercenary cruelty. Nieto Ferrando stipulates that, to be part of the Civil War genre, a film's plot must be tied to the war: "In the case of films of the civil war genre, their stories are clearly determined by the war and the post-war" (2016: 814). The revelation that the violence that drives the film's plot is not the Civil War but the attack on Pitorliua changes the focus of the film, and it no longer technically fits into the Spanish Civil War genre as mapped out by Nieto Ferrando.

Manuel Nicolás Meseguer (2013) also observes a tendency in Spanish cinema of the twenty-first century to treat the Civil War as a background for other types of story, commonly horror or fantasy genres, rather than focusing on a socio-historical angle. In the case of *Pa negre* he notes how carefully Villaronga treads around the historical context of the film (2013: 52). Indeed, as Allbritton notes, Villaronga "turns from a wholly faithful portrayal of Spain's recent past and instead evokes the sensations and emotions it has produced" (2013: 626). He argues that "*Pa negre* also broadly depicts Catalonia and the reality of its mistreatment under the dictatorship in order to show what types of things are born in war" (2013: 626). This broad brush depiction makes it applicable to anywhere in the aftermath of war, and the story told becomes a universal comment on the lingering, reverberating damage caused by all wars, rather than a historical study of the Spanish Civil War. Moreover, the language dynamics in rural Catalonia in the 1940s are not a central topic of the film. *Pa negre* does not attempt to be factually specific, but instead tries to tell a more abstract, emotional tale. Villaronga recounts that in the making of the film they "attempted to strip the setting of specific visual references to the political reality of the day, choosing to leave the backdrop hazy so as to reinforce a more abstract idea of tyranny over the film's characters" (2010: www.panegre.com). If the film is telling a universal story rather than a specific story about post-war Spain and Catalonia, this could change the functions and effects of multilingualism in the scenes, changing it from a reference to the oppression suffered by the Catalan language under Franco's dictatorship to a more general metaphor about power and oppression. This could in turn have consequences for any possible translation approaches.

Pa negre uses the conventions of the civil war genre to build up viewers' expectations only to leave them questioning them. It is a distillation of many of the features of the genre, put together in a way that challenges the genre and the viewers. Although Anglophone viewers are unlikely to pick up on all the elements of intertextuality and their connotations, people with an interest in watching *Pa negre* are likely to have seen other, more well-known films in the genre, such as *El laberinto del fauno* (particularly since its high profile director Guillermo Del Toro's *The Shape of Water* (2017) was so successful at the 2018 Academy Awards, winning Best Picture, Best Director, Best Original Music Score and Best Production Design). This means that these viewers have a chance to pick up on at least some of the intertextual references. With this in mind, even if marking language variation would provide Anglophone viewers with a sense of historical and regional context, this context is also provided by intertextual references, and through other multimodal meaning-making channels, which will be explored in Section 5.3. To mark language variation risks undermining Villaronga's story about the universal, human nature of evil by imposing categories even as they are erased by the events of the film. The following section compares Villaronga's film to the novels it derives from, in order to shed light on his choices.

5.2.3 Adaptation from the Novels

Villaronga's film was principally adapted from Emili Teixidor's 2003 novel of the same name. This novel was as popular and successful as the film has been, winning the Joan Crexells, Lletra d'Or, M. Àngels Anglada, and Nacional de Literatura prizes (Glenn, 2012: 53). Because of this, both have been "promoted in terms of the other" (Glenn, 2012: 54) with captions on both the book cover and the DVD cover boasting of their links. Looking at the film in comparison to the novel provides insight into the themes Villaronga has chosen to emphasise, and those he has obscured. This in turn helps to address the question of translation strategies and the best subtitling methods, because it sheds light on the director's choices. Villaronga based the structure of his film on *Pa negre*, but also took events and ideas from two of Teixidor's other works, *Retrat d'un assassi d'ocells* (Portrait of a bird killer, 1988) and *Sic transit Glòria Swanson* (Same title in translation, 1979). The original novel focuses on words and stories rather than action, so the addition of elements from the

other texts makes the plot more suitable for the medium of film, as it provides more visual action. This not only changes the structure of the narrative, it also shifts the thematic focus of the film.

The novel is set during the first few years of the Fascist dictatorship, and explores how this time was experienced by every-day people, as well as examining the complexities and subjectivities involved in the task of writing history itself. This theme is also emphasised in the film adaptation. Both texts make explicit reference to the fact that history is constructed from selective interpretations of events, rather than objective facts, and both texts contain the phrase "la història l'escriuen els guanyadors" (history is written by the victors). Just as the film exhibits many of the features of the Spanish civil war film genre, Joaquim Espinós notes that the novel *Pa negre* contains many of the characteristic elements found in stories of the Civil War: the Republican figure who is imprisoned and executed – in this case, Andreu's father – and the suffering of the woman who visits him in prison; Republicans fleeing and in exile; the humiliation of the vanquished at the hands of the victorious, and negative portrayals of Fascists (2013: 39). Teixidor uses these elements to portray how this affects and changes the life of a child of the next generation (Espinós 2013: 40). According to Espinós, the novel's focus on "the vanquished's loss of ideals, forced upon them by the difficult conditions imposed by the victors" is not often discussed in treatments of the Civil War (2013: 40). This feature is even more strongly emphasised in Villaronga's adaptation. However, while both texts contain many similar features, the perspective shifts in the film adaptation.

As established above, Villaronga uses many conventions of the Civil War genre but twists them into a murkier, morally ambiguous picture of postwar society. Comparing the film to the source novel leads to similar conclusions. By selecting and rejecting elements from Teixidor's *Pa negre* and his other works, Villaronga blurs the moral distinction between the winners and the losers. With regard to the level of fidelity of adaptation, Glenn (2012: 55) identifies that the film version of *Pa negre* fits into the category of analogy, according to Geoffrey Wagner's criteria. That

is, the director has departed from the original in order to make a new, but related, text.

When Teixidor's novel begins, Andreu's father, Farriol, has already been imprisoned and is doomed to execution because of his political beliefs. By having him arrested for the murders of Dionís and Culet, characters who appear in *Retrat d'un assassi d'ocells,* Villaronga criminalises Farriol, and the brutal depiction of these murders, as well as the violent killing of their horse, immediately shows the audience Farriol's capacity for evil. Andreu's father is thus shown to have, at best, a confused and compromised set of ethics, rather than being simply a victim of the Fascist regime. Glenn attributes Teixidor's more political focus to the fact that he experienced the war and its aftermath directly (Glenn 2012: 61). He was born in 1932, whereas Villaronga, of the "grandchildren's generation", has a different perspective. Indeed, Villaronga challenges the Republican father figure's narrative by quoting one of the lines from the novel directly. In an early scene of the film, Farriol claims that he is persecuted for his 'crime' of "tenir idees i significar massa" (having ideas and symbolising too much). In the novel, he has been imprisoned for his political ideals, so the reader can take him at his word. However, Farriol's film version is actually guilty of violent crimes and murder, so his assertion that he is being hounded because of his ideals comes to seem like empty words, a pathetic attempt at self-justification. Moreover, Espinós observes that the transformation of Andreu's father "from victim of Fascist cruelty to criminal" makes Andreu's trajectory all the more troubling, given that he decides to align himself not only with the victors, but with the very people who bring about the execution of his father (2013: 41).

As well as adding elements from other texts, Villaronga also leaves out some themes from Teixidor's work. While he takes many plot points from *Retrat d'un assassí d'ocells,* he largely omits the ideological debate about the role of the Church in Francoist indoctrination (Espinós, 2013: 43). What he does take from this novel are elements to provide more visual action and spectacle, and themes which depoliticise the atmosphere rather than reinforce political divisions. Villaronga concentrates less on heroes and villains, and has said that he did not want to make moral judgements

on his characters, "resisting the temptation to romanticize them, to treat them as heroes, or, above all, to stand in judgment" (2010: www.panegre.com).

Thus, briefly comparing the film to the novel leads to the same conclusions as studying the film within the context of the Civil War genre: that Villaronga challenges the common characteristics of memory culture, blurring the moral distinctions between the Fascists and the Republicans. Therefore, in terms of translation strategy, any subtitles which add more difference and division, such as colour-coding language variation, would undermine the film's stance.

5.2.4 Reviews and Reception

On the film's website, www.panegre.com, the director's own comments support the conclusions reached above, that the film focuses on the universal aspects of war, rather than the divisions between the Fascists and the Republicans. Villaronga states that "*Black Bread* is about the moral devastation of civilians in times of war", and that "this is not a film about a clash between winners and losers" (www.panegre.com). He claims to have made a specific attempt to avoid overt references to the politics of the time. Looking at reviews, and especially comparing between Castilian and Catalan language and Anglophone reviews, both by critics and ordinary viewers, can illuminate what were seen to be key themes by each reviewer, and shed light on how or if language variation was understood by viewers and critics. This is significant because a study of reviews and reception can be used in conjunction with Villaronga's own comments to determine whether the film is, as he claims, a universal story, or whether the specificities of the era and location contributed significantly to people's experience of the film.

Many of the professional English-language reviews mention the film's similarity to *Pan's Labyrinth.* The latter was directed by Guillermo del Toro, a high-profile international figure, and was widely seen outside Spain. Neil Young, writing for *The Hollywood Reporter,* mentions the film's specific Catalan setting, noting that it is a "Catalan-language production (original title *Pa negre*) set in the countryside near Barcelona in 1944" (2010). He also observes that the film is "the latest in a very long line of films to examine the harmful effects of war and its aftermath upon innocent children" (2010). This idea is also picked up by Sydney Levine, reviewing at the

Palm Springs International Film Festival, who wonders "why another film on the Spanish Civil War?" (2012). *Pa negre* was screened at the 2011 San Francisco International Film Festival (SFIFF), and one review from this screening also begins by invoking its similarity to *Pan's Labyrinth*. The review also emphasises the historical context and the political divisions of the time, in explaining the arrest of Farriol: "it becomes clear that the only motive the police really have to make this accusation is Farriol's history of protesting against the new government and promoting his liberal political views – you'll remember the fascists won the war – Farriol's family are republicans" (Griffin, 2011). Griffin stresses the political nature of the enmities shown, indicating that the key points, in his opinion, are the politics of the protagonists and the era of repression. Another review of the same screening comes to similar conclusions, "Another coming of age film of sorts could be found in Agustí Villaronga's *Black Bread*, which sets up camp in the rural Franco-controlled spaces previously explored in *Spirit of the Beehive* and *Pan's Labyrinth*" (Croce, 2011). In contrast, after a showing of *Black Bread* at the 'Viva! Spanish and Latin American Film Festival' in Manchester, in 2012, Sarah Cronin, writing for *Electric Sheep*, has a different perspective. While noting the setting of the "Catalan woods", she writes that, although it is "set in the years immediately following Franco's crushing victory, *Black Bread* is not just another story, similar to *Pan's Labyrinth* (2006), of the Spanish Civil War as seen through the eyes of an imaginative child", and that history is important to the plot but that Villaronga "cleverly subverts the audience's expectations," leading to the revelation that the events of the film are not related to the war at all (2012). Of course, the situations the characters find themselves in are connected to the Civil War, and it is one of the reasons that they have to make the impossible decisions that they do, but the catalyst that leads to the specific events of the film is actually the murder of Pitoliua on the orders of the Manubens, and thus, while on a social scale the film depicts post war life, the individual motivations of the characters can be traced back beyond this.

The specific Catalan setting of the film, as well as its place in the Civil War genre, is a recurring theme in the Anglophone reviews. The Castilian-language reviews also tend to note the historical context. Beatriz Maldivia, writing for *Espinof*, in fact praises the "impeccable" recreation of the time (2011). Manu Argüelles also

establishes the geographical and historical setting, as well as invoking *Pan's Labyrinth*, before observing that "*Pan negro* se desvía del arquetípico tropo de las dos Españas confrontadas para que… el realizador destape una lluvia de odios enquistados, traiciones y mentiras en el lado de la izquierda" (*Black Bread* deviates from the archetypal trope of the two Spains but in conflict in order that… the director can uncover a shower of entrenched hatreds, betrayals and lies on the side of the left) and that the conflict has devastated people morally to the point that there is no longer any distinction between the two sides (*El espactador imaginario,* 2010). Sergio Burnstein speculates that the film has been successful in part because it has given the Catalan community a voice, but also observes that the director has taken the risk of bringing "la misma ambigüedad moral a sus franquistas y a sus republicanos…sin negar nunca los abusos de los primeros, pero haciendo a veces que los segundos aparezcan como causantes de ciertas atrocidades" (the same moral ambiguity to his Francoists and his Republicans…without ever denying the abuses of the former, but sometimes making the latter appear as the perpetrators of certain atrocities,) (*Manganzon,* 2010).

A summary in Catalan also specifies the setting of "els anys durs de la postguerra rural a Catalunya" (the difficult postwar years in rural Catalonia) (2011, online). Sebastià Alzamora, also writing in Catalan, claims Villaronga as one of the great Catalan auteurs (*El Punt Avui*, 2010) and notes that "no hi ha ningú que pugui tirar la primera pedra" (no one can cast the first stone) in the film, which he states is set in the Catalan countryside in the 1940s. He therefore notes the location but also perceives the nuanced moral narrative. In the Anglophone as well as the Catalan and Castilian reviews, therefore, the specific postwar setting is deemed to be of interest, but there is awareness of how the film undermines the conventions of the tropes it evokes.

In general, and across all three languages, there is a sense in the reviews that although the cinematography was beautiful and the acting exceptional (particularly by those playing Andreu, his mother and his cousin) the story was too convoluted and the hype, nominations and awards had created expectations that the film was unable to meet. This is echoed in the rotten tomatoes user reviews. The *Rotten*

Tomatoes[11] page for the film contextualises it "in Catalonia during the immediate post-war years", although it does not mention that it is mainly shot in Catalan (rottentomatoes.com). Many of the English user reviews specifically mention the Catalan post-war setting, describing variously the "[w]onderment and dread seen through the eyes of a young boy in a rural Catalonian village", "deep 'in the harsh post-war years' Catalan countryside", "a coming of age drama/mystery set in rural Catalonia just after the Spanish Civil War", "[a] reconstruction of the rural Catalonia after the lost war against the Spanish fascists" (all rotten tomatoes user reviews). A rotten tomatoes user review in Catalan argues that politics and war are not the central focus, merely the setting for a family drama.

Looking at how often the particular geo-political setting and historical context are mentioned in the reviews, and setting this against the average ratings, gives a picture of how central the specific locality it is to the enjoyment of the film. Language variation is a part of this, even though an awareness of the region its set in does not automatically imply awareness of the instances of language variation in the film, it indicates an interest in the locality in general, and therefore a potential interest in language variation as a part of this local specificity. I found that of the English language reviews on Rotten Tomatoes, nearly three times as many (16) do not mention the geographical settings as do (6), possibly indicating that the reviewers are unaware of or not particularly interested in the specific context. However, the average ratings for each category are very similar, (3.42/5 for those that mention the setting, and 3.22/ for those that do not) suggesting that an interest in or awareness of the specific regional setting, of which language variation is a part, does not seem to have a huge impact on enjoyment. This pattern is repeated in user reviews in Castilian: 3 mentioned the specific regional setting, and 12 did not, and the average ratings for these groups were 3.5/5 and 3.2/5 respectively.

As the English subtitles do not mark language variation, it could be argued that this contributes to the lack of mentions of the Catalan setting. However, the Castilian speaking audiences gave ratings that are very similar to the English user reviews, suggesting that loss of information in the TT does not significantly affect the

11 Rotten Tomatoes is a website that collates ratings and reviews of film, and includes both critics' reviews and user reviews.

enjoyment or understanding of the film. The findings in this section support the view that language variation is useful to set the scene and contribute to the context, but it is not a central theme in itself. The following section involving multimodal analysis will provide more information about the functions of language variation in specific scenes, and demonstrate how these functions are conveyed in the TT through various semiotic channels.

5.3. Multimodal Analysis

This section analyses the scenes in the film which include Castilian. The dialogue is provided along with a transcription of the English subtitles. Using an integrated multimodal analysis, the function of the language variation in each scene can be observed. While language variation is generally omitted in the subtitles, multimodal analysis shows how the function achieved by this language variation in the ST is still achieved in the TT by means of the other meaning making modes.

5.3.1 At the crime scene

00:05:35 – 00:06:15

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	Farriol	Catalan	Com estàs?	How are you?	*Mise en scène*: Farriol enters in front of the Guardia Civil officer, who walks out of shot. Farriol appears shocked. Costumes are all different shades of grey, Andreu's jacket is the lightest shade. Lighting is dappled sunlight. Sound: No extra-diegetic music
2	Andreu	Catalan	Bé	OK.	Cinematography: Medium close-up on Farriol's face, from behind Andreu.

3	Farriol	Catalan	De seguida anirem a casa	We're going straight home.	Cut to Guardia Civil carrying a gun, who walks past Pauleta crouching on the ground, silent. Pauleta is now wearing a black cardigan over the yellow dress she wore earlier.
4	Farriol	Catalan	La mare s'ha quedat molt preocupada	Your mother's very worried	Medium shot of Farriol looking off screen, presumably at Pauleta. Cut to a claustrophobic low view of the men's' legs as they carry the body of Culet- we see a small arm dangling from a sheet.
5	Guardia Civil officer	Castilian	Farriol ¡espera!	Farriol, wait!	Wider shot, from above, no sky. Green leaves and shadows, a body wrapped in a sheet in the centre of the frame. Farriol and Andreu, framed against a grey rock face, turn around. Farriol's hand on Andreu's shoulder
6	Guardia Civil officer	Castilian	Toma	Here!	Guardia Civil approaches, both hands outstretched with Andreu's possessions
7	Guardia Civil officer	Castilian	Pasa mañana por el cuartel. El alcalde y el juez también querrán veros para el testimonio	Stop by the garrison tomorrow. The Mayor and Judge will take the boy's statement.	Medium shot of Guardia Civil handing Andreu's things to Farriol. Costume: the Guardia Civil's hooded cape is similar to, but better quality than, the one the murderer wore in

					the first scene of the film.
8	Guardia Civil officer	Castilian	Se ha portado muy bien	He’s been very good.	Medium shot of Farriol and Andreu against the grey moss-covered rock face, seen from behind the Guardia Civil’s head.
9	Guardia Civil officer	Castilian	Los papeles, ¿sabes?	Paperwork, you know?	Farriol’s cap casts his eyes into shadow. Andreu looks at his father with a wide-eyed gaze. Sound: birdsong.
10	Guardia Civil officer	Castilian	Ahora todo es un mar de papeles	Today there's no end to paperwork.	Guardia Civil nods and turns away. Sound: mule braying.
11	Farriol	Catalan	No t’hauries d'haver parat	You shouldn't have stopped!	Mule walks past in background with two bodies wrapped in sheets draped over it. Farriol and Andreu in foreground in dappled shadow.
12	Andreu	Catalan	Però pare	But dad...	Camera tracks backwards as Farriol and Andreu walk towards it, in medium shot. Foreground in shadow, sunlight in background.
13	Farriol	Catalan	Ni pare ni res	Don’t dad me	Walking close together, sunlit from the left, Farriol’s cap leaves his eyes in shadow.
14	Farriol	Catalan	Ja veuràs quins maldecaps que tindrem ara	you'll see the headaches we have now	They walk further into shadow to the sound of birdsong.

This scene follows Andreu's discovery of Culet and Dionís in the forest. He is collected by his father, who has a brief conversation with a Guardia Civil officer, while in the background the bodies of Dionís and Culet are removed, and Pauleta, Dionís' widow, sits on the ground in shock. Farriol enters, followed very closely by a Guardia Civil officer holding a gun. The Guardia Civil officer instructs both Andreu and Farriol to come and present their statements, and returns Andreu's belongings. In rows 5 and 8, Farriol and Andreu are observed against a sheer rock face, possibly underlining the fact that they are in a precarious situation with little room for manoeuvre. Andreu's wide-eyed gaze, recorded in row 9, is a nod to the civil war genre, as discussed in Section 5.2.2. Moreover, Andreu's wide, open gaze contrasts with his father's eyes, which are cast into shadow by his cap. This could be read as a visual representation of the innocence of youth juxtaposed with Farriol's guilt, as it is he who has killed Culet and Dionís.

In terms of the acoustic channel, the effects are very stark and pared-down. There is no extra-diegetic sound such as music or effect; the only sounds are the men's footsteps and discussion as they move the bodies in the background, and the noises of some animals in the distance. For example in row 10 of the above table, the braying of the mule that is carrying the dead bodies is recorded, and in rows 9 and 14 birdsong is noted. These sounds emphasise the rural setting of the scene, and add to the creation of realism[12]. The naturalistic lighting, which is achieved by sunlight and shadows, works in harmony with the sound editing to emphasise the rural setting.

The Castilian speaker's appearance in military clothing, with a weapon, reinforces the idea of conflict and death through and *mise-en-scène*, while the introduction of Castilian in a film which has been entirely in Catalan up until this point sets up the idea of a separate group. The visual channel and the verbal thus channel work together to introduce the idea of division and two opposing sides. At first glance, then, the use of Castilian in a scene of this nature, following the gruesome death of Andreu's friend Culet, seems to underline the confusion and fear of this unfamiliar

12 It is worth noting, however, that birds have a symbolic value in this film: they represent Farriol, who keeps caged songbirds, and Andreu's relationship with him. In a later scene he kills his father's birds, just as he ultimately brings about his father's death.

situation, representing the dark post-war world encroaching on his childhood innocence. However, the Guardia Civil officer reappears having exchanged his gun for Andreu's possessions, which he returns to him, and praises his behaviour. This hints at the revelations to come, that the people threatening to end his childhood and destroy his family are not these Castilian-speaking Fascists but are much closer to home. In fact, in this scene, it is the officer who comforts him and his father who scolds him. This is one way in which Villaronga disrupts the clear-cut moral divisions prevalent in the Civil War genre.

The linguistic choices made in the translation also contribute to the erasure of political context, which, as noted above, Villaronga himself claims to have been aiming for. When asking Farriol to bring his papers, the officer says that "ahora" (now) there is no end to paperwork (row 10). The subtitles translate this as "today" rather than "now. This is significant because it changes the frame of reference from the era to "today" which could be understood as that particular day. It is plausible that there would be a particularly large amount of paperwork on a day on which the bodies of a man, his son and a horse are found in the forest. In contrast, the "ahora", or "now" of the ST carries the sense of there having been a "then" to compare it to, a time before, before the Civil War and the Fascist regime to which they are adjusting. For the TA, the ideas of conflict, death and violence are communicated through the visual channel, and the socio-political setting is made less specific by the translator's verbal choices. In the ST the language variation ultimately contributes to a disruption of divisions, which is not conveyed to the TA, but the depoliticising of the translation in row 10 conveys a similar effect.

To sum up, in this scene, multilingualism contributes to realism, as it would be natural that officers from outside Catalonia would be placed there during and after the war, and would not be expected to speak Catalan. The presence of Castilian also represents the intrusion into Andreu's life of unfamiliar, adult concerns, and contributes to both the construction and dissolution of two opposing and opposite sides. The TT subtitles are, as is usual, very pared down, and do not exhibit any interventionist strategy to mark language variation. This means that the TA is unaware of the presence of Castilian, but the style is in keeping with the immersive realism of the scene.

5.3.2 At the police station

In a scene which quickly follow that described above, Andreu and Farriol are at the police station, to sign a statement. Although there is only a small amount of Castilian in both of these scenes, they are worth investigating because, situated early in the film, they set the tone, and are generally significant when it comes to introducing the plot. Moreover, the Castilian language, and Andreu's obvious confusion on hearing it, emphasise the entrance into his life of the regime's and the local authority's power.

00:07:31 – 00:10:37

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	-Farriol -Mayor	Catalan	- Qui firma, aquest o jo? - Tots dos	-Who signs, him or me? -Both.	Close up of the typewritten statement in Castilian, with Spanish coat of arms. Held by Farriol's grubby hands. Cut to wide frame of the police station, of Andreu sat to one side, Farriol standing in front of a desk on the other side and the Mayor sitting opposite, leaning back on his chair, surrounded by scratched green plaster walls, candles, a typewriter.
2	Farriol	Catalan	Andreu.	Andreu.	Farriol picks up a pen. Cut to Andreu getting up from a tattered wooden chair. The Mayor watches Farriol sign, and takes it from him to check

					his signature almost before he has finished. Close up of Farriol removing his glasses.
3	Mayor	Catalan	Aquí hi ha escrit tot el que ens has dit	This is everything you told us.	Mayor hands the paper to Andreu. Close up of Andreu looking up at his father, whose face is out of the frame.
4	Mayor	Catalan	Sabràs escriure el teu nom, no?	You can write your own name, can't you?	As Andreu hesitates, cut to Mayor leaning forward in his chair
5	Mayor	Catalan	Tan bon estudiant que diuen que ets	If you're such a good student…	Andreu looks up at Farriol
6	Farriol	Catalan	Au, firma	Sign it.	Farriol in close up, nods to his son. Andreu leans down, camera pans down to him taking pen from the table, we see "A" as he begins to write.
7	Police inspector	Catalan	Pobra dona	Poor woman.	Wider shot. Andreu in foreground signing paper. The police inspector and Pauleta come out of another room, walk past. Farriol and Pauleta share a loaded glance before she hunches down and walks out the door. The inspector mutters his comment to himself.
8	Police inspector	Catalan	Andreu, aquí diu que el nen encara no era mort quan	Andreu, here it says the boy wasn't dead when you	Camera follows the inspector back to the table. Medium close up

			el vas trobar	found him.	as he signals to the statement he is holding.
9	Police inspector	Catalan	No va tenir temps de dir res?	He didn't have time to say anything?	The Inspector sits down opposite Andreu
10	Andreu	Catalan	No.	No.	Extreme close up of Andreu's face.
11	Police inspector	Catalan	Algun nom, alguna cosa.	A name, anything...	Medium close up from the inspector, from Andreu's point of view.
12	Police inspector	Catalan	Per nosaltres pot ser important	It could be important to us.	Cuts between medium shot of the inspector across the table and extreme close up of Andreu.
13	Andreu	Catalan	Bé, va dir una cosa rara. Em va semblar que deia Pitorliua	Well... he said something weird. I think it was Pitorliua.	Extreme close up of Andreu's face for the duration of his sentence, then cut to close up of the mayor as he narrows his eyes and looks at Farriol.
14	Police inspector	Catalan	I per tu això vol dir alguna cosa?	Does that mean anything to you?	Close up of Farriol as he casts his eyes down, uncomfortable. Cut to medium shot of the inspector speaking.
15	Andreu	Catalan	Hi ha un ocell que es diu aixi. Un de petit que és molt manso.	There's a bird named that. A little, tame one.	Extreme close up of Andreu, then Farriol, who almost smiles.
16	Police inspector	Catalan	Sí, sí, però apart del ocell	Yes, yes, but besides the bird?	Medium shot of inspector from

					over Andreu's shoulder, holding his glasses in his hand.
17	Andreu	Catalan	La gent diu que a la cova de les Baumes hi ha una mena de fantasma que li diuen Pitorliua	They say in the Baumes cave there's like a ghost called Pitorliua.	Extreme close up of Andreu, who looks in the direction of his father, then back. He finishes his sentence and looks at the mayor, who chuckles.
18	Mayor	Catalan	Emporta't al nano a la saleta. Que li donin un cafe amb llet, que s'ha portat molt bé.	Take the boy to the other room, give him a coffee, he's been good.	Wide shot of the Mayor gesturing for Andreu to leave, a soldier reaches out to lead him to the other room.
19	Mayor	Catalan	I tu espera't, que encara no hem acabat	And you wait, we're not done yet.	The camera moves slightly tighter as the mayor points his finger at Farriol
20	Police inspector	Catalan	Encara que sembla un accident és difícl de creure.	Though it looks like an accident, it's hard to believe.	Mayor comes back to the desk, looks at Farriol
21	Police inspector	Catalan	Nosaltres pensem que algú ha estimbat en Dionís Seguí.	We think someone pushed Dionis Segui off.	Camera moves tighter, closer on the mayor and the inspector.
22	Police inspector	Catalan	Fantasies de criaturas apart, tot això ens fa pensar en allò del Pitorliua	Children's fantasies apart, all that makes us think about this Pitorliua story.	Closer still, the mayor leaning on a chair, staring at Farriol as the inspector talks.

23	Guardia Civil officer	Castilian	No te preocupes por nada, ¿eh, chaval?	Don't worry about a thing, kid.	Cut to the other room. Grey-blue plaster walls. The Guardia Civil officer bangs a huge stack of papers on the desk to neaten then. Andreu sits opposite him on the other side of the table, officer clears the table as he speaks.
24	Andreu	Castilian	¿Qué has dicho?	What did you say?	Paraverbal information: Andreu speaks slowly, carefully enunciating the words, eyebrows contracted.
25	Guardia Civil officer	Catalan	Que no te preocupis de res	Don't worry about a thing.	Officer leans forward, smiles
26	Guardia Civil officer	Catalan	Ara et portaran de merenar	We'll bring you some breakfast.	Camera follows a Medium shot of officer as he leaves the room and turns back at the door to speak.
27	Woman	Catalan	txt! El pa blanc no ès per tu. Agafa l'altre	The white bread's not for you. Take the other one.	Andreu gets up to look into the other room. A middle aged woman also in grey clothes walks in carrying a plate with bread and a kettle. Andreu rushes back to his chair. The camera pans to follow the trajectory of the woman. Andreu grabs a slice of white bread. The woman hisses at

					him to stop. The camera frames Andreu as he watches her leave.

In this scene the officials question Andreu about what he witnessed, before sending him into another room while they talk to his father. Their courtesy to Andreu, offering him snacks and once again praising his behaviour, contrasts with the threatening way they talk to Farriol. The first image in this scene is a close up of Andreu's typewritten statement. It is in Castilian, stamped with the Spanish coat of arms, and Andreu is named as "Andrés". However, this detail is shown very quickly and was only picked up during close analysis. It is highly unlikely that even linguistically knowledgeable viewers would notice it. The "Castilianisation" of Andreu's name foreshadows the events of the end of the film, when he has left his family and become "Andrés". The change from "Andreu" to "Andrés" reflects the deliberate Castilianisation of Catalan culture by the regime. People's names, as well as place names, were translated, and statues of prominent Catalans were destroyed or taken down (King, 2004: 44). This small visual detail at the start of the scene thus provides realistic contextualisation, but it is so brief that even source viewers may not consciously notice it. The tattered, worn, scratched and scraped furniture and walls indicate that the region has gone through hard times, and the props, including candles and a typewriter, help to position this room as a historical setting. Language variation is another element that contributes to this realism. Again, there is no extra-diegetic sound and the lighting is naturalistic.

The dynamic visual channel shows the power of the mayor, played by Sergi López, through his body language; his self-assured posture suggests that he is revelling in his power over Farriol. He points accusingly at him as he says "we're not done yet". Andreu's body language is unsure, constantly looking to his father for guidance when others speak to him. The widow Pauleta is shown again, now wearing black, and there is a loaded glance between her and Farriol, the significance of which will become clear later in the film. In terms of body language, Farriol's uncomfortable

facial expression at the mention of Pitorliua is also of note. The camerawork includes many close ups of Andreu's face to direct the viewers' empathy. As Chandler argues (n.d.) close ups are often used in interview situations to indicate fear or anxiety. The frequent cuts between Andreu and the inspector also heighten the tension. The close ups of Andreu's face, along with the shot of him listening at the door, recorded in row 27, are reminiscent of imagery from other civil war films, of children gleaning information about the violent world of the parents by eavesdropping and spying, as discussed in Section 5.2.2.

The Guardia Civil officer leads Andreu into another room and, in Castilian, reassures him, telling him not to worry. Andreu's confused expression and his hesitant, awkward enunciation of his question "¿Qué has dicho?" (What did you say?) indicate that he is not used to hearing or speaking Castilian. To use Woolard's term (1989) the officer "accommodates" Andreu's linguistic inability by switching to Catalan. However, it is notable that it is the officer who accommodates to Catalan, on hearing that Andreu is not used to Castilian. As discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2, it is much more common for Catalan speakers to switch to Castilian in these situations, even now after the transition to democracy and the normalisation of Catalan. It is thus a surprising decision by the officer, and is another way in which Villaronga subverts the viewers' expectation, and disrupts our conceptions of "good" and "bad" where it relates to the Civil War genre, as in this particular context viewers would expect the Guardia Civil to be a perpetrator of oppression when in fact this character is the one to show kindness and consideration to Andreu. *Pa negre* was made in 2010, and in 2009 a campaign was launched by the Generalitat specifically to discourage Catalan speakers from switching to Castilian when speaking to Castilian speakers (as discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2). The concept of accommodation was thus in the public sphere, and, whether conscious or unconscious, this exchange could be a reflection of contemporary discourse on language use.

Just as in the first scene, the Guardia Civil officer's Castilian words regarding Andreu are actually kind and comforting. In these scenes, the phrases "he's been

very good", "don't worry about a thing" provide a hint that Castilian speakers aligned with the new regime are not the ones to be feared, and they are not the monsters that will turn his life upside down. They will take his father away, but not for the political, vengeful reasons hinted at: it is revealed that Farriol is guilty of these murders, and other violence besides. The fact that the most threatening character in this scene, the mayor, speaks Catalan, seems to undermine the idea that Catalonia was a "locus of resistance" against the oppressive Castilian regime that pervades memory boom narratives. Language variation thus builds on the construction of realism and the impressions conveyed in the earlier scene, but is not marked in the TT subtitles.

The inclusion of this exchange further highlights the way the small world of Andreu's childhood has been invaded by the larger, dangerous world of post war society. In the TT, the language variation is not marked in the subtitles so the audience is not given the reason for Andreu's evident confusion. It is plausible, however, that they would conclude that the boy is simply confused and overwhelmed by the unfamiliar situation. Although a dimension of meaning that alludes to language politics and hierarchy of languages is lost, the segment still makes sense because the sense of confusion and unfamiliarity that is achieved in the ST through Andreu's confusion when faced with Castilian is maintained through the visual and para-verbal channels of the actor's manner of speaking, facial expression and body language, and does not require further information to be provided in the subtitles, since the effect in the TT is similar: the language variation creates a sense of confusion, which is also conveyed in other modes.

Codeswitching is used in this scene to defy the expectations of the audience. However, marking codeswitching in the subtitles would not achieve the same effect, since the TA is very unlikely to have the same understanding of the nuances of codeswitching and accommodation as source viewers. By marking the use of the two languages, a division between the language groups would be created, but whereas in the original version this divide is blurred, by inverting accommodation norms, for example, for the TA this division would remain stark. Therefore, another solution

could be to intervene at the level of the dialogue, to soften the language used by the Guardia Civil, so that his kindness to Andreu by switching languages could be conveyed to the TA with softer language, such as "It's alright, you don't have to worry" which is slightly more reassuring than "Don't worry about a thing, kid" (row 25). This way, the effects of language variation in this scene can be achieved through visual and verbal means.

5.3.3 At the Village School

00:18:52 – 00:20:12

	Speaker	ST Language	ST Dialogue	TT Subtitles	Other Modes
1	Static writing	Catalan	El retrat d'un assassí d'ocells	PORTRAIT OF A BIRD KILLER	Title scene: An image of parchment, stained with brown blood-like splatters, creased and dirty. Extra-diegetic music: a low droning note
2	Teacher	Castilian	La victoria nunca es neutral ni inmerecida	"Victory is never neutral or undeserved	Black ink pours in from above, obscures the title and then the screen, which turns black, accompanied by the sound bridge of the teacher's voice.
3	Teacher	Castilian	La victoria nunca es neutral ni inmerecida	Victory is never neutral or undeserved	Wide shot from the back of the classroom, children in rows of desks, a crucifix on wall and a small portrait of Franco. The five times table on the blackboard. The teacher leaning on his desk at the front, with a book he

					is reading from. He walks down the middle of the room, looking between their work and his book. Paraverbal information: he enunciates slowly, to indicate that he is dictating to the class.
4	Teacher	Castilian	Hay que alejarse de los vencidos	You must avoid the defeated	Teacher turns round, shakes his head, ruffles a boy's hair
5	Teacher	Castilian	Hay que alejarse de los *ven*cidos	You must avoid the defeated"	Medium close up on the teacher, the camera tracks backwards as he walks towards it. Paraverbal: he emphasises a syllable to correct a student's spelling, as he leans down towards the student.
6	A student	Catalan	Collons!	Shit!	Student picks up an eraser.
7	Teacher	Castilian	Como se aleja uno de la peste	"like you would the plague"	Teacher walks down room, past girls to his left and leans down next to Núria.
8	Teacher	Catalan	T'ha caigut això	You dropped this	The teacher speaks in soft tones, Núria smiles.
9	Teacher	Castilian	Como se aleja uno de la peste	"like you would the plague"	The child in front sticks tongue out at Núria, who hits her on the back of the head.
10	Teacher	Catalan	"Vae victis" que vol dir	"Vae victis" which means	Girls writing, looking down at

			“ai, dels vencuts”	“Woe betide the defeated!”	desks. Cut to teacher turning to the class at the front of the room, in front of the blackboard. A chessboard is in the corner of the frame, and the portrait of Franco is visible.
11	Teacher	Catalan	Els vencuts no tenen dret ni una petita nota a la pàgina en la gran llibre de la història	The defeated have no right even to a small footnote in the great book of history	Camera follows the teacher sitting down at his desk, a diagram of the bones of the hand is visible behind him, and a small globe on the desk.
12	Teacher	Catalan	Perquè la història escriuen sempre els guanyadors.	Because history is always written by the winners	Close up on a flask as the teacher pours a drink. He coughs and drinks.
13	Teacher	Catalan	Consti però jo estic sempre a favor dels vencedors	But I am always in favour of victors because	Medium close up of teacher
14	Teacher	Catalan	Perquè tenen més mèrit.	They’re more worthy.	Medium close up of teacher
15	Teacher	Catalan	Algu sap per què?	Anyone know why?	Wide shot of the classroom as various children put their hands up
16	A student	Catalan	Jo	Me	The teacher points
17	Student	Catatan	Perquè son més valents	They’re braver	The boy sitting next to Andreu speaks.
18	Teacher	Catalan	No, perquè han sabut guanyar	No. Because they’ve known how to win	Medium close up of teacher, cut to boy

					shrugging.
19	Teacher	Catalan	I només pot guanyar aquell que sap guanyar	And only those who know how to win can win	Close up of teacher moving a chess piece. Camera zooms out as he stands up. Paraverbal: slow speech, enunciates each word. Pointing with index finger. Franco's photo visible.
20	Teacher	Catalan	Aixi com també tenen més mèrit els rics que els pobres	Like the rich are more worthy than the poor.	Close up on teacher.
21	Teacher	Catalan	Algú sap per què?	Anyone know why?	Close up on teacher.
22	Student	Catalan	Pels diners	Their money	The girl who hit Núria puts her hand up and speaks
23	Teacher	Catalan	Quasi, quasi	Almost, you're close.	Laughter, close up on teacher.

In this scene, at a small village school in rural Catalonia where Andreu lives with his grandmother, aunts and cousins, it appears that the class are doing dictation in Castilian, and the teacher, who usually speaks Catalan with the children, repeats his Castilian sentences so that the children can write them down. He interrupts his Castilian speech to tell a student, Andreu's cousin Núria, that she has dropped something- in Catalan. He then tells them, in Catalan, of the dichotomy of winners and losers and why it is better to associate oneself with winners. The content of the speech is indicative of the social concerns of the time, and starkly describes the situation of Andreu and his family, who are looked down upon and mistrusted by much of the community because of their political ideology. It also tells the viewer about the character of the teacher, who seems to just want to survive in the post war world. This scene follows immediately after a tender scene showing Andreu's doomed father telling his son to hold his head high and to be proud of who he is, and the juxtaposition is made all the more effective in the ST by the sudden use of

Castilian. Allbritton observes that this scene shows the "misery of the defeated, compounded by having to use the language of the victors" (2014: 629). He also notes that this practice is a small way in which the dictatorship separated this generation from their parents, by indoctrinating them with different ideologies, in a different language from the one spoken at home. The regime did make a concerted effort to indoctrinate schoolchildren with the ideology of the Fascist State. Many textbooks were published that contained maxims that were to be learnt by heart, legitimizing the regime and detailing the Spanish citizen's duty towards the *patria* (Pinto 2004: 652). For example, *Así quiero ser: El niño del nuevo estado* (This is How I Want to Be: The Child of the New State), which was first published in 1940, contains this lesson: "Nosotros, los subordinados, no tenemos más misión que obedecer. Debemos obedecer sin discutir." (We, the subordinate ones, do not have any mission except to obey. We must obey without arguing) (Pinto 2004: 656). Villaronga appears to be referring to textbooks such as this, which sought to justify the dictatorship.

The use of Castilian in this scene foreshadows its use at the end of the film, after Andreu has made his choice to "avoid the defeated" and to ally himself with the victors, by leaving his own family and allowing himself to be adopted by the rich and powerful Manubens family. It presents the viewer with the concepts of victory and defeat on a national, political scale as well as on a local, immediate scale. The presence of both languages underscores the tensions of the time and acts as an embodiment of the dichotomy discussed in the text. This device is not reproduced in the subtitles, nor are the connotations of using a language to get ahead or underscore political beliefs. The lack of language variation in the subtitles removes some of the specificity from the situation; the speech becomes more abstract and less rooted in the events surrounding the characters. However, the paraverbal information conveyed through the teacher's different tones of voice and body language differentiate between when he speaks the official Castilian words of the state and his own, Catalan, words. He walks around the classroom, stopping to drink from a bottle under his desk, the camera zooming in closely on his hands and the flask, his body language that of a defeated person. He coughs as he pours his drink, as observed in row 12, reinforcing the ideas in the speech that align defeat with disease, which was

a concept that was common in Fascist propaganda (Allbritton, 2014). He thus appears to embody the image of republicans put forward by the regime, as a diseased degenerate. In terms of the visual channel, the static elements also present a picture of poverty and defeat. The children's ill-fitting, shabby clothes evoke a sense of deprivation, while the chess set in the corner, seen in close up in row 19, complements the contrast between intellect and morals suggested in the verbal channel, suggesting that knowing how to win is more important than having something to fight for, echoing the message of the lesson and the theme of compromised ideals present throughout the film. As well as the *mise en scène* evoking a school – mathematics on the blackboard and a small globe on the desk – there is a small crucifix on the wall as well as a photograph of Franco in the background, and also a diagram showing the bones of the hand. Amago (2013: 106) notes that this is a visual pun on *phalanges,* the scientific term for these bones, evoking the Spanish Falange fascist party. Small visual indications of the political situation are thus included through the visual channel, complementing the teacher's speech, which actually makes no mention of specific political parties or groups; the images in the background as well as the use of Castilian provide context. The film is thus not completely stripped of contextual indicators, as Villaronga claims, but the information is fairly subtle. In fact, although the TT viewer is very likely to be aware of the civil war setting, it is unlikely that they will understand the significance of the *phalanges* (although this particular detail is bound to be noticed by only a small proportion of ST viewers as well) and may not recognise the photograph of Franco, as well as not receiving the information about language variation. Therefore the TT provides a more abstract setting than the ST, as the narrative appears less specific and more universal. Once again, there are no extra-diegetic sound or music effects, and the unmarked subtitles are in keeping with the realism of the scene. Language variation is therefore lost in the TT, and so too is some of the specificity of the scene. However, the more general themes of defeat, deprivation and ostracism are conveyed by both the verbal information and the visual channel.

Language variation play a role in this scene, but to mark it would be disruptive, not in keeping with the strategy for the whole film. The contextual analysis of Section 5.2 indicates that Villaronga prioritised universal themes over political references,

and in this scene the visual references are not overt, but appear as subtle background information that only viewers watching very attentively would notice. Therefore, these subtitles appear to be in keeping with his choices for the overall style of the film.

5.3.4 At Andreu's New School

01:40:14 – 01:44:33

	Speaker	ST Language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other Modes
1	Priest 1	Castilian	*Polifemo* de la *Odisea* representa lo monstruoso	Polyphemus in "The Odyssey" represents what is monstrous	A sound bridge begins the scene- Andre has said goodbye to his family, ominous extra-diegetic music plays, then the priest's words are heard just before the scene cuts. Like the school scene above, it starts with a wide shot from the back of the classroom, which is bigger, with more rows of desks, and all the boys wear and blue and white striped uniform. A crucifix is on the wall.
2	Priest 1	Castilian	Porque tiene un solo ojo y porque es un gigante	Because it only has one eye and is a giant	Camera tracks across the back of the room. Extra-diegetic music stops.
3	Priest 1	Castilian	Y también, y esto es lo más importante	Also, and this is important	Children writing or rubbing out. The priest speaks in a monotone.
4	Priest 1	Castilian	Porque su naturaleza humana se había corrompido hasta convertirlo en un ser	Because its human nature was corrupted, until becoming a being	Cut to medium close up of Andreu, zoom in to big close up, Andreu looks up from his desk and the extra-diegetic music returns, violin notes.

5	Priest 1	Castilian	de naturaleza diferente a la que antes tenía, que llevaba escondida	Of a nature different from the one it had or that was hidden within…	Camera pans to the door which opens, another priest enters. Extra-diegetic music stops.
6	Priest 1	Castilian	¿Sí?	Yes?	Priest 1 removes glasses and looks up
7	Priest 2	Castilian	Andrés Manubens tiene una visita	Visit for Andrés Manubens	Priest 2 in medium close up, then close up on Andreu who gets up

The conclusion of the film, which sees Andreu sever ties with his family, can be read as a reference to "the practice of removing children from any family environment that failed to fully adhere to the norms of the newly formed fascist state" (Allbritton, 2014: 623). Women who were imprisoned by the regime had their children taken from them, to be adopted and raised by families that supported the regime, and "many thousands of working-class children were sent to state institutions because their own Republican families were considered unfit to raise them" (Duprey, 2012: 70). This was legitimised and legalised by the Law of December 4, 1941, which allowed the renaming of "the 'abandoned' and 'repatriated' children of Republicans" (Allbritton, 2014: 623). However, Villaronga casts this event in the film in a different way. The collapse of Andreu's family is presented as a tragic event, involving as it does the death of his father, but, unlike the many 'lost children' of the dictatorship who had no control over their fate, Andreu appears to have been given a choice about whether to be adopted by the Manubens family. He appears to have made his decision out of anger with his parents and as a response to his feeling of betrayal. In the film, he is as much an agent of his own fate as a victim of his situation, and could even be said to take a vindictive pleasure in the rejection of his family. This is another example of Villaronga's shift in emphasis from the political conflict and injustice of the post-war years in Spain to a more universal study of the collapse of a person's morals, ethics and identity in impossible situations, and the dehumanising effects of war on all who experience it.

In this scene Andreu is spoken to in Castilian and appears to have no problem understanding, in contrast with earlier in the film. Even his own name is translated,

from *Andreu* to its Castilian equivalent, *Andrés*. As discussed above, this is an example of the Castilianisation of names that happened across Catalonia under Francoism. In this case, however, it happens after Andreu has made the choice to join a new family at a new school. This name change linguistically underscores the extent to which Andreu has lost his own roots and his own family in his effort to be free from their lies and mistakes. The irony of this is that in order to make his own decisions and have the life he wants he must submit to the control of the Manubens, the killers of his father. The priest's discussion during the lesson shown in this scene, of the "monstrous" Cyclops, who has allowed his human nature to be corrupted, clearly applies to the characters who have endured the war and the choices it has forced them to make, and applies especially to Andreu, who has abandoned his family, helped to bring about his father's death, and rejected the "ideals" his ultimately corrupt father tried to instil in him. This is underlined by the language change, as this scene is in Castilian, and as established earlier in the village school scene, Castilian is associated with the "victors".

The extent to which Andreu has compromised his own nature, his identity, is revealed when he is spoken of as "Andrés" (row 7). The link between language and identity is clearly emphasised in this scene. Catalan is the language of his family, and in renouncing this and renouncing his real name, *Andreu,* the protagonist attempts to become someone else, and language change helps him to shed his old ties. This name change is transcribed in the subtitles, the one instance in which language variation is retained rather than omitted. However, the effect of this name change is stronger in the ST, embedded in the context of the ideas of language and status in the scene at the village school discussed above.

Andreu's transformation into a Manubens, and a 'monster', is shown through other semiotic channels, as well as through the use of Castilian in this scene. The visual channel shows the audience Andreu's new school uniform, which, while clean and better quality than his old clothes, is exactly the same as every other child's, highlighting his lack of individuality and lost identity. The nametag he wears reads "A. Manubens", unambiguously indicating his isolation from his old family. The camera zooms in on Andreu's face as the priest talks about the monster, which helps the audience to recognise the metaphor, and as Glenn observes, his expression makes

clear that he realizes the relevance to him of the priest's words" (2012: 65). While earlier in the film the tight shots of Andreu's face elicited empathy, in this scene they serve to highlight his monstrosity. Unlike the other scenes, this sequence does contain extra-diegetic sound, which intensifies the ominous tone. The distant, echoing voice of the teacher intoning the characteristics of a monster combine with violin music as the camera zooms in on Andreu. After this, Andreu is summoned to see his mother and the music returns, a drumroll building along with his anger and violence. Andreu's body language is also markedly different. His speech, in a dismissive monotone, and his refusal to move towards or hug his mother, underline his transformation. His monstrosity and rejection of his roots is thus conveyed through a variety of modes, of which language variation is just one.

Glenn notes that "[I]n the novel Andreu describes his mother's visit as an intrusion and an embarrassment" (2012: 64) and closes his eyes so as not to see her leave. His selfishness and monstrosity is presented in an inner monologue. The film, meanwhile, in the following scene, shows this mostly visually, in a closing sequence that contains little speech. After Andreu harshly dismisses his mother and instructs her not to return, leaving the gifts she has brought him on the table and slamming the door, Florència is shown in soft focus walking away down the corridor, effectively just a blurry silhouette. Andreu breathes on the window as his mother leaves the school, hiding her from view. This has the same effect as his closing his eyes in the book. The mist blocks his final view of his mother, in a more visually striking way suitable for the film medium. This effect aligns the viewer's perspective more closely with Andreu than simply closing his eyes, because the audience's view is blocked by the mist as well. This creates a strong visual description of Andreu disowning his mother. Moreover, for viewers of the English subtitled version, the many visual clues present in this scene that illustrate Andreu's emotional state make up for the absence of language variation in this scene and in the scene discussed above.

The analysis of these four scenes has indicated that language variation performs a variety of functions in the ST. It provides information on the socio-geographical-political setting, while it introduces and simultaneously undermines the binary of winners and losers, of good and bad, or it emphasises the trajectory of Andreu's

transformation. However, as these understandings are also achieved through other meaning-making modes, it is possible to posit that the pared-down, non-intrusive subtitles are generally in keeping with the stark, realist aesthetic of the original version.

5.4. Conclusion

Pa negre tells the story of the harsh lessons a child learns when he confronts the secrets of his family's past. Villaronga uses the conventions of the Civil War genre to challenge the memory boom's tendency to focus on black and white narratives in which the divisions between victim and oppressed are very clearly defined, and in doing so evokes Spain's unwillingness to accept criticism of first one group of people, then the other, illustrating the painful, destructive effects of looking back on the violent, dangerous past. The presence of Castilian dialogue in certain scenes of *Pa Negre* plays a significant but not essential role in conveying the films' themes of repression, defeat and loss of identity, and contributing to its emotional atmosphere. The specific significance of the relationship between Catalan and Castilian in these scenes can be registered, whether consciously or unconsciously, by SC viewers, but is likely to be missed by TC viewers. However, the meaning created by other filmmaking techniques, particularly the visual clues in the final scenes in the film, is enough to largely fill any gaps. Although the presence of Castilian is not highlighted in the subtitles, in the text as a whole the overall effects that its presence contributes to are largely transferred, meaning that to mark language variation in the subtitles would add unnecessary, disruptive, information. The language variation is largely used as a device in conjunction with other techniques to tell a universal, rather than regionally or nationally specific, story, and therefore to mark language variation in subtitles would be misleading.

The language dynamics in rural Catalonia in the 1940s are not a central topic of the film. According to Villaronga, *Pa Negre* does not attempt to be factually specific, but instead tries to tell a more abstract, emotional tale. Therefore, as Meseguer argues, *Pa Negre* is "perfectly accessible" to those who are not aware of the socio-historical context of the narrative, as the significance lies in the emotional intensity and the atmosphere created, but any viewers who do have an understanding of the

background will find their viewing experience enriched by these details (2013: 49). *Pa Negre* is not a film about the relationship between different languages. It includes language variation, but not in order to make a point about language itself. Language is only one semiotic channel amongst many, all of which work together to make a larger point. The film is not about linguistic identity, or even about political or national enmities. Rather, it shows that war and the associated hardships drive humans to make impossible choices and compromise their ideals, identities, morality and even humanity. It makes a person monstrous, regardless of which side of history they stand. For these reasons, the most appropriate subtitling strategy, is to leave the subtitles un-marked, as they are, and accept the occasional loss of meaning, which is made up for in other areas. To mark the language variation would distract viewers from the emotional, abstract nature of the narrative, and risks colouring their interpretation with a political association that the director actively sought to avoid. Following the analysis presented in this chapter, I would therefore like to claim that the conventional subtitling method, in which the languages are not visually distinct to the target viewers, is the most suitable approach for this film. This film requires a consistent subtitling strategy in order to fit in with the film's aesthetics and to avoid distracting viewers. However, in the second scene discussed, there could be an intervention at the word level, to soften the Guardia Civil's language, to reflect his accommodation choice in the ST in a way that fits in with the overall subtitling strategy.

Chapter Six: Èric and the Order of the Phoenix

Case Study Two: *Fènix 11.23*

6.1 Introduction

Fènix 11.23 (*Phoenix 11.23*), directed by Joel Joan and Sergi Lara, released in 2012, is a dramatization of the true story of Èric Bertran, who in September 2004, aged fourteen, sent an email to various supermarkets asking them to label their products in Catalan. He signed the email in the name of his online organisation, Fènix 11.23, which he had set up with the intention of defending the Catalan language. One of the supermarkets, Dia, interpreted his message as a terrorist threat and reported it to the police. On the night of September 30 2004, thirty Guardia Civil (police) from Madrid's anti-terrorism unit arrived at Èric's home to search it and arrest him for terrorism offences. The case was taken to the Audiencia Nacional, the high court in Madrid, before it was closed in March 2005. Bertran wrote a book about the experience, *Èric i l'Exèrcit del Fènix* (*Èric and the Army of the Phoenix*) (2006) and this book was made into a play of the same name, (written by Víctor Alexandre and directed by Pere Planella). A documentary about the events, made by Xevi Mató, is available with English subtitles on Youtube, and as of November 2019 has over 1.2 million views. *Fènix 11.23* is thus one of a number of texts to present this story.

This film was adapted from Bertran's book, *Èric i l'Exèrcit del Fènix* (2006), and presents the events of September 2004 to March 2005 from the point of view of Èric. Kathryn Crameri (2014) notes that Èric's book focuses quite narrowly on linguistic rights, specifically in terms of product labelling, while the film is more broadly nationalist**.** The different times that each was produced will have contributed to this. As discussed in Chapter Three, Catalan independence activism became more mainstream in the years between Èric sending his email, in 2004 (and the book's publication in 2006) and the release of the film in 2012, and it is now even more prominent. In her 2015 article Crameri charts the rise of the independence movement in Catalonia over the previous decade, noting in particular the march organised by the ANC on 11 September 2012, calling for Catalan politicians to pursue independence. The march's high turnout prompted the president of the Generalitat,

Artur Mas, to commit to a referendum and to call an early election for November 2012, which was also the month the film was released. The film was made and released in a climate of increasing campaigning for independence, and the Èric of the film is an activist for independence, wearing clothes emblazoned with "Independència" and asking to go to demonstrations in Barcelona.

The film stars Nil Cardoner as Èric, with Rosa Gàmiz and Àlex Casanovas as his parents Rosa and Ferran, Lluís Villanueva as the lawyer Emili Colmenero, Roberto Álamo as Captain Cardeñosa of the Guardia Civil, and Ana Wagener as the *fiscal,* or prosecutor. The executive producers were Joel Joan and Xavier Atance, and the production companies involved were Arriska Films, Benecé Produccions and Televisió de Catalunya (TV3). The National distributor was Splendor Films. Although the film received funding from various bodies including the Catalan government, it was also crowdfunded. Toni Polo notes in a review that it was the first Catalan feature film to be funded this way, receiving €56,000 from the public (2012).

The film was nominated for seven Gaudi awards in 2013 (Best Catalan Language film, Best Actor for Nil Cardoner, Best Actor for Àlex Casanovas, Best Director for Sergi Lara and Joel Joan, Best Supporting Actor for Lluís Villanueva, Best Supporting Actor for Ana Wagener, and Best Production Director for Anna Vilella). It also won the audience prize at the Festival Internacional de Cinema en Català. The film's website notes that it was shown at festivals in China, Italy, Canada, France, the UK, Germany and Australia (Fènix1123.cat, n.d.).

The English subtitles analysed in this case study are from the DVD which was released on April 15 2013. Èric and his family speak Catalan together, so much of the film is in Catalan, but when there are scenes involving the Guardia Civil or the prosecutor there is also Castilian dialogue. Many characters, including Èric, his mother and his lawyer, switch between the two languages depending on the situation. When discussing the film's release in Spain, the filmmakers acknowledge that the story does not make sense without the two languages present, and so in the rest of Spain as well as in Catalan-speaking regions it was released in the original version, with the Catalan subtitled rather than dubbed. However, the subtitles in English do

not mark language variation, and so much of the sense of the conflict between two languages is not present in the TT. The English subtitles generally do not make any distinction between the languages, leaving it up to the viewer to deduce which is being spoken from the context. Although there are occasional contextual indicators of language, this is not always possible for a viewer who is unfamiliar with the languages. This chapter will evaluate what kind of subtitling strategy would be the most suitable for the film. Section 6.2 presents a contextual analysis of the events and the reception of the film, discussing its political positioning and its depiction of Èric as a modern-day Catalan hero. Section 6.3 presents multimodal analysis of several scenes in which language variation is present. Given the film's political nature, and its high level of accuracy in telling a true story, and most of all the importance of language to the film, a strategy that can mark language variation and is not beholden to invisibility may well be well-suited to this film.

6.2. Contextual Analysis

6.2.1 Adaptation from the Book

Victor Alexandre's prologue to Èric Bertran's book, entitled "culpable de catalanitat", [guilty of Catalan-ness] reads as an impassioned indictment of the Spanish State and the failure of Catalan politicians to fully pursue "linguistic normality", and a call to action for society to make a stand for the"normalitat lingüística i nacional del seu pais" (linguistic and national normality of their country) (2006), asking Catalan consumers to vote with their feet in support of Catalan labelling on products. The emotive language links Èric's arrest and trial with the dictatorship, describing the events and the people involved as "sorgits d'una antologia del franquisme" [straight out of an anthology of Francoism] (2006). He argues that Èric was targeted not because he wrote an email asking for labelling in Catalan, but because his actions raised awareness about issues of linguistic and national dignity, "els dos grans enemics del nacionalisme espanyol" (the two great enemies of Spanish nationalism) (2006: 11). Alexandre argues that Catalan politics has not done enough to achieve linguistic normality for Catalonia. Although, as noted in Chapter Three, many people feel that linguistic normality has been well established, and that some think Catalan has too much power over Castilian in the

region, there are many who feel that the Catalan language and culture is still under threat.

Figure 17, a photograph I took in May 2018, shows a banner reading “Language is a right and a culture” in Plaça de Sant Miquel in Barcelona, which is near the Palau de la Generalitat de Catalunya. This indicates that Catalan language rights still resonate for people who feel a need to defend them.

Figure 17: A banner in Plaça de Sant Miquel, Barcelona

The balcony it hangs from, incidentally, faces Antoni Llena i Font**’s** *Homenatge als Castellers*, a large sculpture representing the castellers, or human towers, which are emblematic of Catalan culture:

Figure 18: *Castellers* sculpture. This photograph (Alamy images) shows the sculpture, and the banner can be seen hanging from a balcony in the background.

6.2.2 Background to the Events

The PPLL's 2018 survey revealed that just 38.41% of supermarkets' own branded products are labelled in Catalan, out of the main supermarket chains in Catalonia (2018: 17). Food products are labelled in Catalan more frequently than non-food products (40.0% vs 32.4%). According to the PPLL, "[e]ven though the Catalan Consumer Code enforces labelling in Catalan, a European regulation leaves this obligation ineffectual in the case of food products, while labelling in Castilian is obligatory for all products" (2018: 17). Food is bound up with a sense of identity, both in terms of a community and at a personal level (Fischer, 1988): a national or regional cuisine, as well as social and family rituals, are symbolically significant. It is thus easy to see how the labelling of food could become an important cause for a person like Èric Bertran, who, as a language activist, viewed his identity in terms of "Catalanitat".

Here is a transcript from the email sent in September 2004 to the supermarket Dia, taken from Èric's book, with the original spelling and grammar mistakes included. He sent similar emails to the supermarket Mercadona and the dairy company Leche Pascual.

“Buenas. Soy un cliente en identidad anonima. Soy del Pricipado de Catalunya i jefe de la organización Exèrcit del Fènix EdF i les pido que traduzcan la web i etiqueten sus productos al catalan, es question de igualdad de derechos. Por favor, respeten a nuestra nación. Queremos productos en catalan en todos los Países Catalanes. Confio en que estudiaran la respuesta. Espero una respuesta diciendome si sí o si no. Si no recibo nada antes del día 1 de Octubre del 2004 me pensaré que pasan de mí. Entonces no les pediré otra vez a las buenas, les vendrá a pedir que lo traduzcan toda mi organización y no creo que muy simpaticamente. Espero que hablando nos entenderemos, espero respuesta. Respetenos por favor. Adiós.

Nom: Fènix

Cognoms: Catalunya Lliure

Correu electronic: Fènix_1123@hotmail.com”

My translation: “Hello. I am an anonymous customer. I am from the Principality of Catalonia and the leader of the Organisation Army of the Phoenix EdF and I am asking you to translate your website and label your products in Catalan, it is a question of equal rights. Please, respect our nation. We want products in Catalan in all the Catalan Countries. I trust that you will study your answer. I expect a reply telling me yes or no. If I do not receive anything before October 1st 2004 I will think that you are ignoring me. Then I will not ask you so nicely, all of my organisation will come and ask you to translate it, and I do not think they will ask very nicely. I hope we understand each other, I await your answer. Respect us please. Goodbye.

Name: Phoenix

Surnames: Free Catalonia

Email: Fènix_1123@hotmail.com”

Èric writes that he chose to write it in Castilian so that his email would be more likely to be read, saying “si l’hagues escrit en català l’haurien esborrat directament sense llegir-lo” (If I had written it in Catalan they would have deleted it immediately without reading it) (Bertran 2006: 23). The companies he had written to are national companies, so this practical decision makes sense: the email would likely have been

read by a non-Catalan speaker. This underlines the fact that Catalan is an official language only in Catalonia, not in the rest of Spain, and that this affects how people can use it, even when they themselves are located in Catalonia.

6.2.3. A Contemporary Catalan Hero

After his arrest, Èric's cause was taken up by many Catalan political leaders, including Joan Puig, a member of the Congress of Deputies, the Spanish parliament, and Èric has since become an active player in the independence movement, and an emblem of the struggle for linguistic rights. This section builds on Crameri's identification of a "Catalan hero" and examines how Èric fits into this categorisation, before discussing how the film contributes to the hero myth through its presentation of the events, and discusses both the perception of the film by viewers and the professed intentions of its makers. This leads to the conclusion that the realism and politics of the film should have a bearing on the subtitling strategies.

When discussing the name of his organisation Èric explains in his book that the symbolism of a phoenix alludes to the Catalan regions rising up after repression: "volíem lluitar per la renaixença dels Països Catalans, com l'au mitològica del Fènix, que, quan és morta, reneix de les seves cendres" (we wanted to fight for the rebirth of the Catalan Countries, like the mythological bird the Phoenix, which, when it dies, is reborn from its ashes) (Bertran, 2006: 22).These words are repeated almost exactly in the film, when Èric explains his organisation's name to his girlfriend Mireia: "Fènix per l'au que renaix de les seves cendres, com el nostre país" (Phoenix for the bird that is reborn from its ashes, like our country). He goes on to explain the significance of the numbers: its name references 11 September, the National Day of Catalonia and 23 April, the day of Sant Jordi, the patron saint of Catalonia.

The *Diada,* or National Day in September commemorates the fall of Barcelona after a siege during the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714, and the subsequent loss of Catalan institutions. This anniversary is now part of the fabric of Catalan identity. Every year on September 11th wreaths are laid by political leaders at the monument to Rafael Casanova, who led the Catalan defence. Casanova and another leading figure from the time, Josep Moragues i Mas, have both become national heroes of Catalonia. Crameri writes that Moragues, who was executed after the siege, was used

"as an example" by the victors, and that their treatment of him "is one of the fundamental reasons for his elevation to the status of a Catalan martyr" (Crameri, 2014: 78). She notes that Èric's story can be likened to that of Moragues in several ways, cementing Èric's position as a contemporary Catalan hero (2014). The prosecutor, she argues, takes on the role of the "despotic ruler" and the thirty civil guards fulfil the "trope of 'unreasonable Castilian force' that forms part of the myths of 1714 (and the memory of the Franco regime)" (Crameri, 2014: 96). As well as the actions of the formidable Spanish State, Èric's actions also fit into this framework, as Crameri notes that "the nature of Èric's crime also mirrors the actions of the heroes of 1714, who […] are shown fighting to protect their family, traditional rights and way of life rather than being motivated by power" (Crameri, 2014: 97). Èric's desire to have products labelled in Catalan was also born of a desire to protect his and his family's culture. Èric is therefore well-suited to the role of heroic defender of Catalan language and culture.

As well as these events from Catalonia's history, Èric is also explicitly linked with a more modern hero. The film was adapted from Èric Bertran's account of the events, *Èric i l'Exèrcit del Fènix: acusat de voler viure en català* (*Èric and the Army of the Phoenix: accused of wanting to live in Catalan*) (2006), by scriptwriters Albert Plans Soriano and Hèctor Hernández Vicens. The book's title, referencing the name of Èric's organisation, also calls to mind another slight teenage boy with untidy dark hair, standing up to authorities and persecuted by adults in power: Harry Potter. The name of Èric's group was inspired by The Order of the Phoenix, an underground organisation in the Harry Potter series, which was formed to fight Voldemort, the antagonist, and his supporters, the 'Death Eaters': "it's a secret society. Dumbledore's in charge, he founded it. It's the people who fought against You-Know-Who last time." (J.K. Rowling, 2003: 65). The links to Harry Potter are mentioned in Victor Alexandre's foreword to Èric's book, and he also notes that Harry Potter has been important to the defence of the Catalan language in another way: "la subtitulació al català de *Harry potter i la pedra filosofal,* la primera pel·lícula sobre el personatge, va constituir una gran victòria de la societat catalana, una victòria que ha comportat el doblatge posterior de totes les pel·lículas de la sèrie" (the subtitling in Catalan of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, the first film about the character, was a

great victory for Catalan society, a victory that has brought about the dubbing of all the subsequent films in the series) (2006: 14). This links Èric's struggle with an unrelated victory for the Catalan language through the figure of Harry Potter, further contributing to making Èric into a heroic figure for Catalan activists. In the film Èric's links with Harry Potter are established through costume and *mise-en-scène* (Figure 19). The books by J.K. Rowling are shown on a shelf in his room, and the image below, from the first scene of the film, shows Èric linked explicitly with the name of Harry Potter.

Figure 19: Nil Cardoner as Èric Bertran at the start of the film (00:01:03)

Èric's T-shirts are used frequently in the film to illustrate his commitment to Catalan independence. He is seen attending school in a T-shirt saying "Independència" and on another occasion in a T-shirt with the slogan "CATALONIA IS NOT SPAIN". This articulates a feeling shared by many Catalan nationalists, and members of other nations without states, of not identifying with the state of which their territory forms a part. Guibernau notes that the "members of a nation lacking a state of their own regard the state containing them as alien, and maintain a separate sense of identity" (2013: 6). In his book, Èric writes that he had never visited Spain prior to the hearing in Madrid, (2006: 72), indicating that he does not see Catalonia as part of Spain. The fact that this T-shirt is in English encapsulates Catalonia's supposedly more outward-looking nature in comparison with more inward-looking Spain.

English is also used in a scene early in the film in which Èric and his friend Pau attempt to impress a pair of English tourists by buying them ice creams. This scene, which is discussed in more detail in Section 6.3.2, is a light-hearted one which rounds out Èric's character as a teenage boy, brings a comic element to the film and also show's Èric's innocence in the world of girls and flirting, underlining his youth and naivety. By underlining Èric's young age the filmmakers highlight how disproportionate the State's response was to his email, and makes his commitment to his cause all the more admirable in the face of such opposition.

6.2.4 Political Positioning

Joan and Lara have described *Fènix* as above all a political film (Serra, 2012), and reviewer Jordi Palmer sees the film as a "defence of the Catalan language and identity against the apparatus of the State" as well as a voice for independence at a key moment for Catalonia (2012). His review quotes the directors as saying that the film "speaks of the fragility of any person before the abuse of power, of how in the name of security people's most fundamental rights can be eliminated" (2012). Due to the divisive political content of the film, critical and viewer reviews naturally vary in their response. It clearly struck a chord with like-minded Catalan independence activists and sympathisers, as evidenced by the large amount of money raised from public donations in order to produce the film in the first place. Indeed, an anonymous reviewer who identifies as Catalan and "independentista" (ecartelara.com, 2013) writes that the film shows what people are prepared to do "por patriotismo, también por sentirse odiado, como passa en Catalunya" (for patriotism, and because they feel hated, as happens in Catalonia) so it is clear that the experiences of Èric in the film, while extreme, seem plausible and familiar to many Catalans. The film has also struck a chord with non-Catalan viewers; on imdb.com a viewer describes it as a ""must see" for anyone who is interested in European politics" (2015), adding that "for the viewer who is not Spanish or Catalan this true story of a 14 year old boy defending the use of his language is really incredible. The movie should be watched especially by young people all over the world to encourage them to fight for democracy and the preserving of their culture" (imdb.com, 2015). The idea that the film is a "must see" is echoed by many of the reviewers, such as Toni Vall, who also writes that the film provides an opportunity to learn from history in order such

events do not happen again (Cinemania, 2012). The DVD cover (figure 20) includes a quotation from Noam Chomsky that "el món hauria de conèixer la història de L'Èric" (the world should know the story of Èric). The idea that viewers are watching out of duty rather than for entertainment opens up possibilities for more informative subtitles that mark language variation.

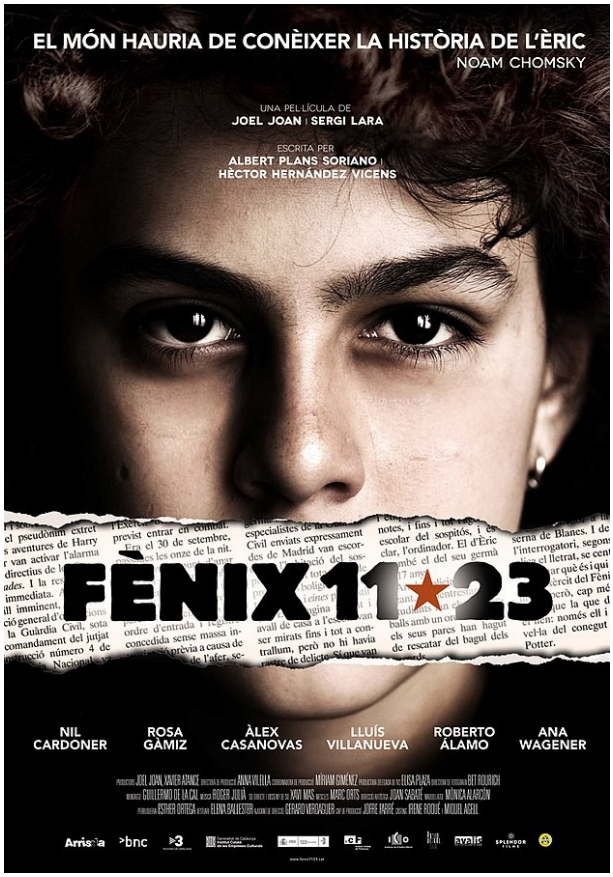

Figure 20: The DVD cover

However, some reviews, such as the one published on the news website *vozlibre.com*, (figure 21) criticise the fact that the film was funded by the Catalan government when it was so clearly pro-independence. This review argues that the nationalist cause manipulated the events to further its aims, and also notes that Èric's case is now part of the Catalan education system, citing a secondary school textbook that contains an extract from an interview with Èric, and criticising the cartoon of the Guardia Civil wearing balaclavas, and the unflattering depiction of the "juez bruja" (judge witch) of the *Audiencia Nacional* (vozlibre.com, 2012). It also suggests that

the film's release date was calculated to coincide with the election to maximise its political impact and influence support for independence (vozlibre.com, 2012). However, given that the early election was announced just two months prior to this, and as Bertran is quoted by Crameri as saying that the project, obviously, took much longer than that to be realised, it is likely that this was coincidental (2014: 95).


va demanar, a través d'un correu, l'etiquetatge en la seva llengua i en va passar de tots els colors. El cas va arribar fins a l'Audiència Nacional. Ara ho explica tot al llibre *Èric i l'Exèrcit del Fènix.*

—Tot va començar amb un berenar.

—Sí. Berenant, vaig veure que l'envàs de llet no estava etiquetat en català. Em vaig preguntar per què i vaig decidir enviar un correu al Departament d'Atenció al Client.

—Al correu deia que era el cap de l'organització Exèrcit del Fènix.

—Així vaig batejar la web en què quatre amics comentàvem notícies sobre la llengua i sobre Catalunya.

—I deia que, si no li responien, «vindria tota la seva organització i...»

—«...ho demanaria de manera menys simpàtica». En aquest any he après altres formes de dir les coses, però d'això a ser una

Figure 21: Image of school textbook taken from vozlibre.com

Èric's email was sent around six months after the Madrid train bombings, known in Spain as 11-M, in which 192 people died and 2,000 people were injured. These bombings were initially suspected to be perpetrated by the Basque separatist group ETA, but they were later attributed to an al-Qaeda cell. It is very likely that the climate of increased fear after this attack contributed to the authorities' over-reaction to the email sent by Bertran. This is acknowledged in the film, when the lawyer Emilio Colmenero explains that the Guardia Civil are especially jumpy after "tot aixo de l'atemptat de l'onze a Madrid. ETA, Al Qaeda…" (00:33:58) (English subtitles: "The train bombings in Madrid. ETA, Al Qaeda…"). However, the Guardia Civil had also uncovered enough information about Èric before his arrest to know that he was a child. Moreover, as Crameri notes, the fact that Èric's group was named after "a fictional group of young witches and wizards in the Harry Potter series perhaps should have alerted the Civil Guard to their age and the likely level of threat they posed" (2014: 94).

The film emphasises that the Guardia Civil were well aware of who they were pursuing. At 00:19:54 minutes, the police have traced the email and downloaded

Èric's information, including a photo of him and his date of birth (4 DE ABRIL DE 1990) (April 4th 1990), so Captain Cardeñosa has clearly seen that he is a child. This is confirmed at 00:20:30 minutes, when Cardeñosa asks the prosecutor, Clara, for a search warrant, as he explains to her "lo que estás leyendo lo ha escrito un menor" (what you are reading was written by a minor). He also confirms, in answer to her questions, that all they know about Èric apart from the fact that he is a child is that he emails companies trying to get them to use Catalan.

On finding the photos of burning flags, a more moderate police officer says, "Catalonia is not the Basque Country" implying that the images might not be anything to worry about, since Catalonia does not have the history of violence that the Basque Country has. Cardeñosa replies "That's right, and we want to keep it that way". This suggests an over-cautious, jumpy response, which is perhaps understandable after the Madrid attacks, but also suggests that by going after Èric so forcefully they intend to make an example of him. Èric is being persecuted and making sacrifices for a cause in a way that makes him seem all the more heroic, in a way that corresponds to the state's treatment of Josep Moragues i Mas, by making an example of him, as discussed above.

This scene establishes that the Guardia Civil does not intend to go easy on Èric, and that his situation is serious. Another scene that increases the sense of peril is when Rosa and Ferran are visited by the mother of Núria Cadenas, a Catalan activist who was accused of terrorist activity and sentenced to six years in prison. In the film, her mother arrives at the Bertran home with folders full of information about the torture and imprisonment of Catalan activists, urging them to take the situation seriously. She introduces herself, saying "Em dic Carme, sóc la mare de la Núria Cadenas" which is subtitled as "My name's Carme. I'm Núria Cadenas's mother" (00:48:40). She offers to help Èric, but Rosa refuses. Carme then tells them "My daughter was accused of terrorism and she spent six years in prison" (English subtitles). These subtitles omit two key words from the original dialogue, which is "A la meva filla la van acusar de terrorisme *sense proves*" (My daughter was accused of terrorism *without evidence*) (emphasis my own). While viewers in Spain are likely to have heard of Núria Cadenas, viewers based in the UK are unlikely to be familiar with this case. This explanation of what happened to her daughter is an example of a CBE that

is explained by the co-text. Due to the political nature of the film, and its intention to raise awareness of what happened to Èric and to the Catalan independence movement, it makes sense for CBEs like this be explained through the co-text. More detail is provided later in the scene: that Núria was a 17-year old independence activist who was still at school when she was arrested.

The words "sense proves", in this scene, translating to "without evidence" emphasise the injustice of law enforcement and the danger that Èric is in, and therefore the sense of injustice present in the ST is reduced, as the viewers could plausibly think that there was a reason this girl was targeted. It reduces the sense that this is what is happening to Èric, and indeed, could happen to anybody. This kind of condensation is a common result of the constraints of subtitling, given the reduced space available to give viewers information, but in this case it significantly changes the sentence. It is an example of subtitling norms flattening and reducing the ST dialogue and changing the effect in the TT. When learning what happened to Núria, ST viewers are told "i la van tancar sis anys a la presò" (and they locked her in prison for six years). The TT subtitles read "and she spent six years in prison". This change of agency happens frequently in translation, as this construction is used much more commonly in English than Catalan or Spanish. It will not have been a conscious decision and is the best translation option in the sense that it is the way a native English speaker would express this, but it is very different from the more literal translation "and they locked her in prison for six years". This scene in the ST shows how dangerous the Spanish authorities are, but in this instance the sentence structure in English removes the dangerous agent. Along with the other condensation from subtitling norms, eliminating the fact that she was arrested without evidence, the impact of the statement is dramatically weakened. Later in the scene the words "with no evidence?" do appear in the subtitles, but as it is phrased as a question rather than a statement, and appears so late in the conversation, the rhetorical effect is reduced. The more accurate translation "and they locked her in prison for six years" is 43 characters long (including spaces) so an alternative subtitle could be "and they locked her up for six years" which is just 36 characters, including spaces.

Crameri notes that by increasing the sense of peril this scene makes the prosecutor's remarks in the later hearing seem frightening, rather than comically absurd (2014:

97). This scene also mentions other cases of perceived persecution of Catalan speakers including the "political prisoners" of Barcelona 1992 who had a banner saying "Freedom for Catalonia" at the Camp Nou stadium, and the arrest of the Mayor of the Valencian town of Favara in November 1997, for speaking Valencian, a regional variant of Catalan. In interviews Joan and Lara argue that such things still happen, citing incidents at airports in which Guardia Civil "cause problems" for people speaking in Catalan (Joan, 2012). After hearing of these incidents, Èric's later decision to speak Catalan in the hearing, against the advice of his lawyer, seems even braver, and underscores the importance of the right to speak one's native language. Ferran's disbelieving reaction that such things could not happen because "we live in a democracy" acts as a voice for the viewer's possible sceptical reaction, and is met with the response "a democracy where they can arrest you and hold you for five days with no lawyer or phone call" under anti-terrorism laws. This response assures Ferran (and the audience) that Èric's situation is more serious than they may have initially thought.

The repressive actions of the State towards Èric are mirrored at a personal level by the bullying actions of his classmates. These actors playing these boys look considerably different from the slightly built Nil Cardoner, who plays Èric. They are all at least one foot taller than him and much more solidly built, despite supposedly being in the same year at school. Èric's struggle with them parallels his struggle with the State, in that they both resemble David and Goliath. Both Crameri and reviewer Jordi Palmer also note the height discrepancy between the boys and its effect on Èric's appearance of vulnerability (Palmer, 2012; Crameri, 2014: 96). In one scene, set in the school locker rooms, the bullies take an item of Èric's uniform and refuse to give it back until he says he is Spanish, foreshadowing almost exactly the prosecutor's demand to say he is Spanish or she will lock him up.

The film reflects contemporary injustices and invokes historic defeats to emphasise Èric's bravery for standing up to the authorities, and brings his struggles to life by reproducing them at a personal level. Along with allusions to the modern teenage hero of Harry Potter, these elements combine to make Èric's cause of defending Catalan linguistic rights seem all the more noble. The central importance of linguistic rights means that it would make sense to mark the use of Castilian and

Catalan in the subtitles, but this is very rarely done in the English subtitled version, meaning that viewers are watching a film in which languages play a central part without fully appreciating their roles.

6.2.5. "Aquesta història és real"

The film is prefaced with the note "aquesta història és real" (00:00:45), which is translated in the subtitles as "This is a true story", instead of the more conventional "based on a true story", or even "inspired by real events". This emphasises the filmmakers' commitment to accuracy. They worked in close collaboration with Èric's family and Èric himself was closely involved in the adaptation, visiting the set many times, as shown in a short promotional video about the making of the film (Fènix 11*23 com es va fer, 2012). Joan and Lara have claimed that over 95% is "pure reality" (Regio7 2012), and that "we did not include any sentence not included in the interrogations" (Joan Lara, quoted by Xavi Serra, 2012). Reviewer Xervi Xigo, (2012) notes that the scene of the hearing at the *Audiencia Nacional* was taken from the case summary, but that some of the things the prosecutor said were so shocking that they were omitted from the film because they would not be believable; what happened was deemed to exceed the bounds of verisimilitude. Other reviewers also mention that the real events were even more shocking than the film, including Quim Casas (2012) who says that it was necessary to dilute the intensity of some scenes so that the film did not appear too propagandist. An example of this is when, in Èric's account, he recalls that the prosecutor inadvertently revealed that she had not read the email for which Èric was on trial, when she claimed that it was written in Catalan when in fact it was in Castilian (2006: 80). This is not included in the film. The film's commitment to accuracy means that, although it is a dramatization rather than a documentary, the norms of invisibility in subtitling could be relaxed in favour of providing the TA with a more accurate, detailed view of the film's central theme of language use by marking language variation. The content that is invented serves to strengthen the Catalan independence cause by contributing to the heroism of Èric, so therefore, despite the film's occasional departures from reality, the argument that more information is required still stands since marked subtitles would help to emphasise this. Since this film aims to raise awareness of Catalan language rights, and because it is based on real events, informative subtitles would be a suitable

strategy. These subtitles would inform viewers which language is being spoken. Various techniques discussed in Chapter Two, Section 2.4 could be used, including colour coding, labels in parentheses or square brackets or headtitles. For this particular film, given the frequency of language changes, colour coding would be the most appropriate choice for informative subtitles, because it would be a visual indication of language change that would not disrupt fast-paced dialogue and codeswitching.

6.3 Multimodal Analysis

This section presents scenes in which Catalan and Castilian both appear, with transcriptions of the ST dialogue, the TT subtitles and other relevant information from other meaning making modes that either alludes to language choice or is otherwise significant for the scene. For this study only scenes that contain both languages were analysed closely, since they present more challenges for translation, with the exception of the composition of the email, which is entirely in Castilian but is of significance to the study given its importance to the plot and the fact that it is the first instance of Castilian in the film. One of the scenes also includes some dialogue in English, as well as Catalan and Castilian.

6.3.1 Èric Sending the Email

In this scene, beginning at 00:06:34 minutes, Èric has just been helping to put away groceries when his brother notes that a carton of milk is labelled in many languages, but not Catalan. Èric runs upstairs and immediately begins to compose an email, which is an abridged version of the one sent in real life. The email is written in Castilian, as mentioned above.

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	Èric	Castilian	Buenas, soy un cliente, ahora en	Hello, I'm a customer	Extreme close up: the computer screen takes up the whole frame. Visual verbal: Dynamic writing, as words appear on the screen Audio: typing, also music- slow guitar. Paraverbal: Èric speaks

					slowly, sounding out the words at the speed he types.
2			identidad anónima	who will remain anonymous	Visual: Èric typing, in profile. Medium close up. The carton of milk on his desk.
3			Soy del principado de Catalunya	I'm from the principality of Catalonia	Cut back to computer screen Visual verbal: Dynamic writing, as words appear on the screen
4			y jefe de la organización exèrcit del fènix	And I'm head of the organisation Army of the Phoenix	Close up shot of Èric typing, with the carton of milk in the background
5			Les pido que traduzcan la web, y etiqueten sus productos al catalán	Please translate your website and label your products in Catalan	Close up of Èric typing, his eyes visible over the top of his computer monitor.
6			es cuestión de igualdad de derechos	It's a question of equal rights	Visual verbal: Dynamic writing, as words appear on the screen
7			Espero una respuesta	I expect a reply	Typing, in profile, close up
8			Diciendome si si o si no. si no	with either a "yes" or "no".	Visual verbal: Dynamic writing, as words appear on the screen
9			recibo nada antes del dia 1 de Octubre del 2004,	If I haven't received one by October 1st, 2004	Visual verbal: Dynamic writing, as words appear on the screen
10			me pensaré que pasan de mí.	I will think you are ignoring me	Close up of Èric typing, his eyes visible over the top of his computer monitor.

11			Entonces, les vendrá a pedir que lo traduzcan toda mi organización,	Then my whole organisation will demand you translate it.	Monitor in whole frame, then cut to him typing in profile
12			y no creo que muy simpaticamente	and they won't ask so nicely.	Monitor in whole frame
13			Respetenos, por favor.	Respect us, please.	Typing in profile
14			Adiós	Goodbye.	Screen: Adiós. fènix1123 (his username). audible clicking as he sends the email
15					Screen: "Diana Atención al client" (customer assistance). Includes his details including his email address
16				OCTOBER 1ST BOMBARD THEM	He writes a Post-it: "1 d'octobre bombardejar" (1st October bombard) and sticks it on monitor. He sighs, satisfied with a job well done.

The scene begins with the email he is typing taking up the entire frame. This is accompanied by the sound of typing and extradiegetic music, which underlines the significance of the moment, especially combined with the *mise en scène*, which is only the email. In row 2 the camera cuts to a medium shot of Èric, with the carton of milk that set of the chain of events on the desk next to him. The camera then cuts between close ups of the email on the screen and Èric as he types it. When he has finished, the visual mode shows that he signs the email with the name of his organisation. In terms of the paraverbal information, Èric slowly sounds out the Castilian as he types. However, this hesitance could plausibly be due either to his comparative unfamiliarity using Castilian, or to his typing speed. This paraverbal hint, and the Castilian words appearing on the screen through the visual channel, are

indications of his change in language but are not enough for a viewer who is not used to either reading or listening to Castilian and Catalan. Èric's decision to write in Castilian is significant, because he felt that if he addressed the companies in Catalan he would not be listened to. This illustrates the unequal power dynamics that Èric perceives between his native language and Castilian. The inclusion of the Castilian transcript in both the dialogue and the visuals of the film thus brings more pathos to Èric's situation and his struggle to be allowed to use and be heard in his native language. The TT subtitles could include information about this language choice, possibly through colour changes, especially given the central importance of the email to the rest of the film.

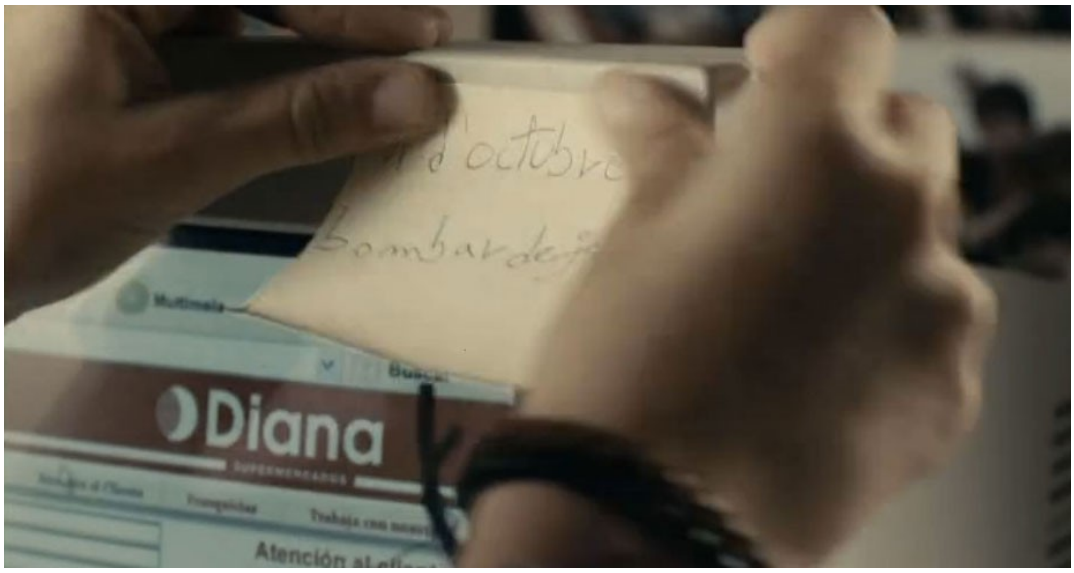

Figure 22: The Post-it note

6.3.2 The Ice Cream Shop

This is a more light-hearted scene than the other scenes containing both languages. It also includes English. Èric and his friend Pau are trying to impress two teenage girls, English tourists, by buying them ice cream.

00:05:05

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitle	Other modes

1	Girl 1	English	They look quite nice	--	The two girls are in medium close up on either side of the screen, while Pau walks quickly towards them through the ice cream shop, followed by Èric.
2	Girl 2	English	I know, we could just like, um…	--	Èric tries to slow Pau down, his body language and facial expressions appear reluctant
3	Pau	English	Hello	--	The girls turn around, smiling, with the ice cream counter in the background. They both have long blonde hair and sunglasses pushed up to the top of their heads.
4	Pau	English	Here in holidays?	--	Pau is shown from behind at the left side of the screen, the ice cream vendor appears in the left side background.
5	Girls	English	Yes	--	Both girls speak together, still smiling, quiet voices, one girl has her eyes averted, apprears shy
6	Èric	English	Where are you from?	--	Medium close up of Èric and Pau. Èric speaks fairly confidently and

					fluently in English
7	Girls	English	England	--	Medium close up of Pau and Èric
8	Pau and Èric	English	Beautiful	--	Pau and Èric turn to look at each other, then back to face the girls
9	Pau	English	We like England very much. Me and my friend are from here.	--	Medium close up of the girls, smiling at each other and giggling, then cut to Pau and Èric again, Pau speaks slowly, gesturing to himself and Èric.
10	Èric	English	Yes, here.	--	Èric nods, smiling, arms crossed.
11	Pau	English	The ice creams of mango are very good. Do you want?	--	Pau filmed from behind, moving forwards and pointing, then cut to show all four teenagers together, both girls looking at Pau, Èric slightly further back, arms still crossed across his chest.
12	Girl 2	English	OK	--	Pau begins to step forward to the counter, between the

					two girls
13	Pau	Catalan	Hola. Em pots posar quatre gelats de mango, si us plau?	Four mango ice creams please	Pau moves in forward, obscuring Èric from view. Cut to show Pau from behind, at the counter, with the vendor in front of him
14	Vendor	Castilian	¿De mango? Muy bien	Mango? OK	Èric moves to the left side of the screen back into view, craning his neck to see the transaction
15	Pau	English	No no, we pay	--	Pau gestures to Girl 1 to put her money away
16	Vendor	Castilian	¿Cucurucho o vasito?	Cone or cup?	The vendor holds up a cone and a cup to show Pau
17	Pau	Castilian	Vasito, vasito	Cup, cup	Close up of Pau, with Èric behind him. Pau points to the option he wants
18	Pau	Catalan	Èri, va, tio, treu la pasta que les convidem.	Èric, splash the cash, these are on us	Pau turns back to speak quietly to Èric.Then turns back, Èric in the background reaches for his wallet, shaking his head and

					looking annoyed.

This scene shows the use of Catalan and Castilian in a social situation, in contrast to the fraught politicised situations in the rest of the film.[13] In this scene, the visual channel sets a playful mood, and creates an endearing effect. The shy, hesistant body language of both the girls and Èric is characteristic of young teenagers flirting; Èric has his hands crossed across his chest for most of the scene, and the girls keep their eyes downcast. The characters frequently smile, and their body language helps to make this scene humourous and endearing, in contrast to the other scenes featuring Castilian and Catalan, which are geared towards conflict and fear. Of the two girls, one appears slightly more confident that the other, and Pau is clearly much more confident than Èric, who runs behind his friend at the startof the scene, trying to get him to stop or slow down, and then stands behind Pau for the rest of the scene. His body language shows his reluctance, and the camerawork emphasises this by showing him at the back of the frame, sometimes physically obscured by Pau. By emphasising in this scene how shy Èric is, his youth and naivety are brought to the fore. By frequently reminding the audience of Èric's young age, the film ultimately increases pathos and emphasises his bravery in standing up to the authorities, despite his shyness.

Pau begins speaking to the girls in English, and Èric joins in the conversation also speaking English. Pau speaks slowly and makes grammatical mistakes, while Èric appears to be more skilful. When buying the ice creams, Pau places his order for ice creams in Catalan, but when the vendor replies in Castilian he switches to Castilian as well. He then addresses Èric in Catalan to ask him for money. This exchange illustrates accommodation, whereby Catalan speakers habitually defer to Castilian speakers. As was shown in Chapter Three, this habit is still prevalent in Catalonia. In this scene, it indicates Catalan's position in relation to Castilian, and that Catalan speakers often feel unable to carry out everyday activities in their native language[14].

13 Regarding the depiction of language use in social contexts, Èric's schoolfriend Rosario always uses Catalan, despite the fact her family comes from Ecuador. She also helps with the collection of signatures for Èric. The presence of a non-native Catalan speaker reflects the data discussed in Chapter Three showing that Catalan is being adopted by more and more non-native Catalan speakers, and that this is being encouraged by government campaigns.

14 In the DVD extra features there is a deleted scene that immediately follows this one. As it was not included in the final cut of the film, and there are no English subtitles, it was not included in the main

This example of accommodation contrasts with the accommodation in *Pa negre* discussed in Chapter Five, because it shows the usual dynamic between the two languages, while the Guardia Civil in *Pa negre* acted against expectations. *Fènix 11.23* is a politically motivated film, and this example of accommodation is a reflection of the experiences of Catalan speakers which strengthens the cause of Èric and other Catalan nationalists.

There are of course no English subtitles for the English dialogue. There is no differentiation between the subtitles for Catalan and Castilian dialogue. This means that the Anglophone audience is unaware of Pau's codeswitching with the vendor. However, the codeswitching is important in this scene as it helps to show why Èric feels so strongly about Catalan language rights. Just like buying food in a supermarket, it is another everyday transaction could not be completed in Catalan. Therefore the language variation in this scene is significant and should be highlighted. Given the frequency of language changes in this film, colour coding is probably the most suitable technique to show language variation.

6.3.3. Èric and Pau

This scene immediately follows Captain Cardeñosa of the Guardia Civil receiving a report and reading the email. Èric and Pau are at Èric's computer looking at instructions from a website about how to kiss. Their dialogue overlaps the visuals of this preceding scene in Cardeñosa's office, creating a juxtaposition between the seriousness of Cardeñosa's expression and the subject matter of the boys' dialogue. This playful scene is then interrupted by a message for Èric's website containing a death threat. Èric tries to brush it off, says it is a troll, but is clearly shaken and replies that he will ask his "friends from ETA" to bomb the troll.

00:14:48

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analysis. However, this scene articulates explicitly the issues that are implicit in the previous scene. Èric returns to the vendor to ask for a spoon, in Catalan. The vendor does not understand, so he repeats himself, in Catalan, and mimes using a spoon, even points to the spoons on the counter. The vendor then asks him why he cannot speak Castilian. Èric gives up and leaves empty handed. He explains to the bemused English girls that he is unable to speak his own language in his own country, and gives them a very concise history of Spain's oppression of Catalonia over centuries, and his support for independence. This deleted scene emphasises Èric's stubbornness even in the face of obstacles and dersion.

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitle	Other modes
1	Èric	Catalan	Recorre amb la teva llengua al seus llavis fins que et trobis amb la seva	Pass your tongue over her lips until you find her tongue	Visual: Captain Cardeñosa, then the website the boys are reading from fills the frame, with text “com enrollar-te millor” [how to hook up better]. heart icons. Sound bridge of Èric reading instructions aloud.
2	Èric	Catalan	Aleshores mou-te suaument	Then move it gently	Visual: Èric and Pau in Èric’s bedroom, filmed from behind the monitor in medium close up
3	Èric	Catalan	Alternant un ritme sau amb un de més intens	alternating the rhythm from slow to more intense	Visual: Èric and Pau in Èric’s bedroom, filmed from behind the monitor
4	Èric	Catalan	Sembla difícil, però se n’aprèn practicant	It seems difficult, but you learn with practice.”	Visual: computer screen in close up shows the Catalan text Èric has been reading
5	Pau	Catalan	A no em miris, marica	Don’t look at me, you queer	Visual: Èric looks at Pau, raises his eyebrows, they are both smiling. medium close up.
6	Pau	Catalan	Tira	Get off!	Visual: Èric licks his lips and leans towards Pau with his tongue out
7	Pau	Catalan	T’han enviat un missatge, Èric, que tens un missatge	Èric, you’ve got a message.	Visual: they fight in a wide shot showing Èric’s bedroom, including a Catalan flag on the wall.
8	Diegetic writing	Catalan		NEW MESSAGE FROM “ESPAÑOL”	Visual: static writing. “EXÈRCIT DEL FÈNIX. missatge de

					<<Español>>
9	Pau	Castilian	Vaya mierda de web. Arriba España	What a shitty website. Up with Spain!	Visual: they exit out of the kissing site to see the message which is dated 25/09/2004. Message text: Vaya mierda de web ¡¡¡Arriba España!!! Cut to medium close up of the boys, the smiles fade from their faces.
10	Èric	Castilian	Quando mas arriba y mas lejos, mejor. (sic)	The further up and the further away, the better.	Visual: Èric typing, then the dynamic writing on screen- Quando mas arriba y mas lejos, major. VISCA CATALUNYA LLIURE!!!!
11	Èric	Catalan	Visca Catalunya Lliure!	Long Live Free Catalonia.	Visual: dynamic writing on screen as above. Medium close up of the boys.
13	Pau	Catalan	T'han enviat un altre	He's sent you another.	Audio: chime of a message notification. Visual: Medium close up of the boys,
14	Pau	Castilian	Sabemos quién eres	We know who you are.	Visual: screen with message. "sabemos quien eres. Cierra este sitio o iremos a tu casa y te rajaremos como un cerdo"
15	Pau	Castilian	Cierra este sitio o iremos a tu casa y te rajaremos como un cerdo	Shut down this site or we'll stab you like a pig.	Visual: screen with message. "sabemos quien eres. Cierra este sitio o iremos a tu casa y te rajaremos como un cerdo"
1	Pau	Catalan	Però qui és	Who is this guy?	Visual: Èric shakes

6			aquest tio?		his head
17	Èric	Catalan	Res, un troll	Just a troll	Visual: Èric shrugs
18	Èric	Castilian	Sí?	Really?	Visual: Èric typing
19	Èric	Castilian	Pues yo hablaré con mis amigos de ETA	Then I'll ask my friends from ETA	Visual: Èric typing
20	Èric	Castilian	que os meterán una bomba por el culo	to plant a bomb under your ass.	Visual: dynamic writing as Èric types "Pues yo hablaré con mis amigos de ETA k os meterán una bomba x el culo"
21	Èric	Catalan	Anda a prendre pel cul	Take that, shithead.	Medium close up of Èric

The sound bridge that connects the image of Cardeñosa with the boys reading kissing instructions highlights the absurdity of the situation, and ultimately suggests that the response from the Guardia Civil is out of proportion. The boys' innocence and inexperience is underlined by the website they are reading and the actors' jocular performance and body language. The arrival of the threatening email in Castilian jars with the fun, playful tone of the scene, and they write a reply in error-ridden Castilian (row 10). As with the previous scene, the audience is provided with this information in the form of static and dynamic writing through the visual channel, as well as through the audio channel as the boys read and write aloud. However, there is still no indication of language change in the TT subtitles for the Anglophone audience, except in subtitle 8, which reads "NEW MESSAGE FROM "ESPAÑOL"". The username does suggest a non-Catalan message sender, especially given the message content, but is not sufficient to convey the language dynamics for the whole scene. A visual "interruption" in the subtitles in the form of a colour change or square brackets to show the language change would carry through this jarring feeling in the subtitles and also indicate that Èric has felt the need to defend himself in Castilian. In order to be consistent with the rest of the film, colour coding would be the suitable strategy.

6.3.4. The Guardia Civil

A note across the screen says "30 de setembre del 2004", the day Èric's house was searched. Before the Guardia Civil arrive, Èric is listening to rock music in his room, using headphones (although the viewer can hear what Èric hears) as if to emphasise his innocent obliviousness to what is about to happen. The rest of his family are downstairs, in pyjamas, when there is the sound of a dog barking, and a knock at the door and the ring of the doorbell, followed by the obligatory "who could it be at this hour" uttered by Rosa. Ominous sounding chords of extra-diegetic music begin. Upstairs, Èric has discarded his headphones and creeps to the window, through which he sees numerous police, with torches, looking through his garden and walking up to the front door. His mother appears and asks him to come down. Èric and his mother descend the stairs to see the living room full of police. Captain Cardeñosa turns round to face Èric, and the questions begin:

00:22:12

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	Cardeñosa	Castilian	¿Tu eres Èric?	Are you Èric?	Music: one ringing chord continues throughout scene. Sound: voices of the policemen. Visual: room filled with police, Cardeñosa front and centre.
2	Èric	Castilian or Catalan	Sí	Yes	Visual: Medium close up of Èric and his mother, who has her hand on his shoulder
3	Cardeñosa	Castilian	En internet, ¿te haces llamar Fénix mil ciento veintitrés?	Do you also use the name Phoenix 1,123?	Visual: Close up of Cardeñosa and a colleague, their faces high in the frame.
4	Èric	Catalan	No, Fènix onze vint-i-tres	No, Phoenix 11-23	Cut to Èric and his mother, lower in the frame.
5	Cardeños	Castilian	Soy el Capitán	I'm Captain	Back to Cardeñosa

	a		Cardeñosa	Cardeñosa	and colleagues
6	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Aquí tengo una orden de registro	This is a search warrant	Cardeñosa hands over the warrant, cut to family's faces with confused expressions.
7	Rosa	Castilian	¿Una orden de registro?	A search warrant?	Adam and Ferran watching cut to Cardeñosa who nods
8	Rosa	Castilian	¿Y por qué motivo?	What for?	Èric and his mother
9	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Estamos aquí por un delito de terrorismo	We're here about an act of terrorism.	Èric and his mother, shocked expressions
10	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Venga, vamos	Okay, let's go	Wide shot of Cardeñosa and the rest of the police as he turns and snaps his fingers
11	Rosa	Castilian	¿De terrorismo?	Terrorism?	Police, in black jackets, communicating through walkie talkie headsets.
12	Rosa	Castilian	No, pero no puede ser	That can't be.	Visual: the family's bemused facial expressions as the police move around them
13	Rosa	Castilian	¿Qué quiere decir con terrorismo?	What do you mean, terrorism?	Èric and his mother, police walking around them
14	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Señora su hijo ha sido acusado de amenazar una empresa	He's accused of sending threats.	Visual: the police rush up the stairs, enter the parents' tidy bedroom, empty drawers. Èric and Rosa look at each other with confused expressions.
15	Àdam	Castilian	Oiga, oiga, perdon ese ordenador es	Excuse me, that computer is mine.	Visual: The police box up Adam's computer, still

			mío		accompanied by the extra-diegetic music
16	Police	Castilian	Nos lo tenemos que llevar, chaval.	We have to take it, kid.	Visual: More police walk behind Adam carrying boxes
17	Àdam	Castilian	No, no se lo pueden llevar, tengo los trabajos de la Universidad.	But I have my university work on it.	Adam is obscured by a nearer police officer while he speaks
18	Àdam	Catalan	Papa, que se m'emporten l'ordinador	Dad, they're taking my computer.	Visual: Police, now in Èric's room, go through his bin
19	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Esto lo metéis en cajas eh	Put all this stuff in boxes.	Visual, mise-en scene: the police remove the Catalan flag from his wall, Catalan flag stickers on most of Èric's things. Rosa's hand on Èric's shoulder.
20	Police	Castilian	Capitán	Captain	Police going through notebooks, CDs, one shows Cardeñosa the "bombardejar" Post-it.
21	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Guárdalo	Bring it in.	Cardeñosa reads the note. The camera pans to the family, standing close together surrounded by police
22	Police	Castilian	Oye, tráete unos alicates para esto	Get me a bolt cutter.	Police going through Èric's bin, boxing up the computer, hold Èric's pens up to the light, and pick up a locked box
23	Èric	Castilian	Perdone, es que yo tengo la llave	Excuse me, I have the key	Music: droning note, higher piano notes introduced. Close ups of Èric, a police officer then Cardeñosa

24	Cardeñosa	Castilian	La llave, la llave	Give him the key.	Èric fetches the key from his bookshelf and carries it over. They unlock a box full of diaries, postcards- typical teenage stuff, and a toy car. Camera pans from Cardeñosa to Rosa, to Èric
25	Rosa	Castilian	¿s-s-se lo van a llevar?	Are you going to arrest him?	Paraverbal- hesitant, quiet, stuttering. Pans from Rosa and Èric to Cardeñosa, who shrugs
26	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Ya veremos	We'll see.	Rosa rubs Èric's shoulder. The boxes are carried down the stairs and outside.
27	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Mañana por la mañana lleven a su hijo Èric a declarar	Tomorrow morning, bring Èric in to make a statement.	Camera on Cardeñosa as he speaks.
28	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Tienes que estar a las diez en punto en la comisaría de la Guardia Civil de Blanes	10 o'clock at the Guardia Civil station in Blanes	Cut to a close up of Rosa and Èric with Ferran and Adam behind them, grouped together in the frame.
29	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Esta noche se va a quedar aquí a casa con ustedes	He can stay here tonight,	Cut to Cardeñosa, low viewpoint
30	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Bajo su responsabilidad	Under your responsibility	Cut back to the family, higher viewpoint
31	Rosa	Castilian	N-n-n-no puede ser, tiene que ser un error.	No, there must be some mistake	The family is tightly grouped together, Rosa's hands on Èric's shoulders.
32	Rosa	Castilian	Está claro que se equivocan de persona, no-	You've got the wrong person.	The family is tightly grouped together, Rosa's hands on

					Èric's shoulders.
33	Cardeñosa	Castilian	No, no nos equivocamos	No, we haven't made a mistake.	Cut back to Cardeñosa
34	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Hasta mañana.	See you tomorrow.	Medium close up of the family

The positioning of the Bertran family within the frame, grouped together, surrounded by police (rows 12, 28, 30 and 31) and the high camera angle enhances their vulnerability. The body language between Èric and his mother, who is always standing behind him with her hand on his shoulder, protectively, reminds the viewer that Èric is a child who needs the support of his parents. Meanwhile, the actions of the police seem heavy-handed: in row 19 they remove the Catalan flag from Èric's wall as if it is evidence of a crime. This seems to politicise the response from the State, suggesting that they are going after Èric because of his beliefs, not his actions. They seek to make an example of him, much like the historical figure of Moragues, discussed above. This scene thus contributes to the representation of Èric as a Catalan hero.

This scene is mostly in Castilian, with the exception of Èric correcting Cardeñosa regarding the name of his organisation in row 4, and Àdam's remark to his father in row 18. However, in this scene characters who have until now spoken entirely in Catalan, particularly Rosa, now speak Castilian with Cardeñosa as a reaction to the situation. There is no indication in the subtitles that this change has occurred, and even when Èric corrects the name of his organisation the focus is on the configuration of numbers: 11-23 rather than 1,123: there is no indication that Èric is correcting the language used (row 4). Moreover, this particular sentence in Catalan is so similar to its counterpart in Castilian that it is difficult to hear a difference. There is no indication of code-switching when Àdam speaks to Ferran in row 18. In terms of the visual channel, there is no indication of language variation, but the police upending the house and confiscating all Catalan flags helps to illustrate the sense of intimidation, which is also at the root of the family's decision to speak Castilian rather than Catalan. This scene is more action-packed than the previous scenes, which involved fewer interlocutors and were slower-paced. For this reason, colour

coding the subtitles would be a suitable strategy as it would mark language variation without interrupting the action. Of course, such a strategy would have to be applied uniformly throughout the film, with colour-coding the preferred option for all the scenes.

6.3.5 TODO POR LA PATRIA

In this scene, at the Guardia Civil police station in Blanes, Èric and his parents meet his lawyer, Emilio Colmenero, before they go into an interview room where Captain Cardeñosa formally arrests Èric before he makes a statement.

Figure 23: The police station

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	Emilio	Castilian	Buenos días, soy el abogado de Èric Bertran, -	Good morning, I'm the lawyer for Èric Bertran	Visual: grey walls, low angle, Spanish flags Sound: Door creaks.
	-Emilio -Police	Castilian	-Estoy citado para.. -Allí están	-I'm here for the interview. -Over there	Close up of Èric
2	Emilio	Catalan	Hola, soc l'Emilio Colmenero, hem parlat aquest matí	Hello, I'm Emilio Colmenero. We spoke this morning.	Audio: Footsteps echoing, no music. Close up as Emilio greets the family.

3	Emilio	Catalan	I tu deus ser l' Èric, el protagonista de la pel·lícula	You must be Èric, the star of the show.	Emilio ruffles Èric's hair. A Guardia Civil approaches along the corridor
4	Police	Castilian	Señores, pueden pasar	Gentlemen, you can come in now.	Long shot of the group walking along a narrow corridor towards the camera. A man in uniform passes, staring at Èric. Extra diegetic sound: ominous music.
5	Emilio	Catalan	Anem	Let's go	Rosa has her hand on Èric's shoulder. Close up of the gun at the policeman's belt and Èric staring at him.
6	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Pasa Èric, siéntate aquí.	Come in, Èric. Sit down here.	Cardeñosa sits at his desk, shuffling his papers. Camera positioned next to him, the family walk into the frame.
7	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Ustedes aquí, cojan las sillas	You can sit here, take a seat.	Smoke from Cardeñosa's cigarette drifts across the frame. Medium close up of Emilio and Èric from Cardeñosa's point of view.
8	Emilio	Castilian	Soy Emilio Colmenero, el abogado del menor	I'm Emilio Colmenero, the boy's lawyer.	Rosa and Ferran sit down just behind them.
9	Emilio	Castilian	¿Y quién lo ha denunciado?	Who reported him?	Cardeñosa at his desk, next to a

					colleague, framed by a small Spanish flag and a photo of the King.
10	- Cardeñosa	Castilian	-¿Cómo? -¿Que quién lo ha denunciado?	-What? -Who reported him?	Cut between close ups of the police and the family group.
11	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Letrado usted sabe que en esta fase de la procedimiento	Counsellor, at this stage of the procedure	Cardeñosa, his colleague, and the flag at the centre of the frame
12	- Cardeñosa	Castilian	-No puedo informarle de ello. -Sí, claro	-you now I can't say. -Yes, of course.	Cut to the family group, Rosa and Ferran both adjust their glasses.
13	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Según la ley tengo que proceder a detener a Èric para poder interrogarlo.	By law I have to arrest Èric in order to question him.	Èric looks at Emilio for reassurance, his parents look at each other, Rosa's hand to her mouth.
14	Emilio	Catalan	Tranquil, és un tràmit	Don't worry, it's just procedure.	All worried faces.
15	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Te informo que tienes derecho a no declarar o a no responder a alguna de las preguntas que yo te voy a hacer, si así lo crees conveniente, ¿de acuerdo?	I must inform you that you have the right to remain silent.	Slowly, clears his throat, gradually speaks faster.
16	Cardeñosa	Castilian	¿Dicho esto, quieres declarar?	Would you like to make a statement?	Cut from the police to the family.
17	-Emilio	Castilian	-Sí	-Yes.	Èric looks at

	-Èric		-Sí	-Yes.	Emilio, who nods.
18	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Hoy, a día uno del octubre del año 2004	Today, October 1st 2004	As Èric has moved his head the framed photo of the King is visible again
19	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Presente Èric Bertran Martínez	Èric Bertran Martinez	As in row 18, smoke from n Cardeñosa's drifts across the screen
20	Cardeñosa	Castilian	A las diez y nueve minutos, asistido por el abogado Emilio Colmenero.	Confirmed, at nine minutes past ten, and in the presence of his lawyer,	As row 19
21	Cardeñosa	Castilian	A la pregunta de si quiere declarar, responde que sí.	that he will make a statement.	Cut to Èric's group.
22	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Vamos a ver, Èric.	All right, Èric.	Cut to Cardeñosa , who gets out papers.
23	Cardeñosa	Castilian	¿Reconoces esta página web?	Do you recognise this?	Cardeñosa holds up a printout of Èric's website homepage
24	Èric	Castilian	Sí	Yes.	Èric, Emilio, Ferran and Rosa behind.
25	Cardeñosa	Castilian	¿Eres tú su webmaster?	Are you the webmaster?	As row 25
26	Èric	Castilian	Sí	Yes.	As row 25
27	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Esta página web se llama el ejército del fénix, ¿no?	The site is called "The Army of the Phoenix".	Cardeñosa holds up the paper, colleague and picture of king in the shot
28	Èric	Castilian Catalan	No, se dice *Exèrcit del*	No it's in Catalan, "Exèrcit del	Family group

			Fènix.	Fènix".	
29	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Bueno, ¿por qué se llama "el ejército del fénix?	And why is it called "The Army of the Phoenix"?	Cardeñosa, his colleague, the king and the flag.
30	Èric	Castilian	Eh, sí, bueno, el nombre lo saqué del libro de *Harry Potter*.	I got the name from a Harry Potter book.	Alternates between Èric's group and Cardeñosa's. with smoke from his cigarette.
31	Cardeñosa	Castilian	¿Harry Potter?	Harry Potter?	Cardeñosa's group
32	Èric	Castilian	Sí	Yes.	Èric's group
33	Èric	Castilian	Aquel niño que va a la escuela de magia.	That boy who goes to a school for wizards.	As row 32
34	Cardeñosa	Castilian	No, sí sí, ya sé quién es Harry Potter eh.	Yes, I know who Harry Potter is.	Cut back to Cardeñosa
35	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Vale, ¿qué tipo de actividades haces en esa página?	What do you do on this website?	Cuts between the two sides
36	Èric	Castilian	Muchas cosas.	Lots of things.	Èric's group
37	Èric	Castilian	Intercambiamos ideas,	We exchange ideas,	Sound of Cardeñosa shuffling papers.
38	Èric	Castilian	hacemos campañas para defender el catalán.	We have campaigns to defend Catalan	Èric's group
39	Èric	Castilian	No sé, basicamente esto.	That's about it really.	Cardeñosa's group
40	Cardeñosa	Castilian	¿Eres tú el autor de este mail?	Are you the author of this email?	He hands it to Èric to read, close up of Cardeñosa watching him, the flag also

					visible.
41	-Èric -Emilio	Castilian	-Sí -¿Puedo verlo?	-Yes. -Can I see it?	Close on Emilio and Èric.
42	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Por supuesto. La empresa a la que enviaste ese mail, ¿te ha respondido?	Of course. Did the company ever reply?	Close up on Cardeñosa and flag
43	Èric	Castilian	No.	No.	Èric shakes his head, Emilio reading the email.
44	Cardeñosa	Castilian	En ese mail, tú le decías a esa empresa, que si no te respondía,	In that email you say that if they didn't reply,	Close up of Cardeñosa, flag, and smoke drifting.
45	Cardeñosa	Castilian	tú te volverías a poner en contacto con ella.	You would contact them again.	Èric nods, in close up.
46	Cardeñosa	Castilian	¿Qué pensabas hacer?	What were you planning to do?	Close up of Cardeñosa
47	Èric	Castilian	Nada. Enviar más mails	Nothing. Send more emails	Close up of Èric. Behind him, Emilio takes off his reading glasses, puts them in his breast pocket.
48	Èric	Castilian	pidiendo otra vez que etiquetaran sus productos en catalán.	Asking them to label stuff in Catalan.	Close up of Èric
49	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Vamos, que ibas a hacer un envío masivo de mails.	You were going to send them masses of emails.	Close on Cardeñosa and silent colleague.
50	Èric	Castilian	Bueno masivo masivo	Not exactly masses.	Back and forth between close ups of Èric and Cardeñosa.

51	Èric	Castilian	Los de la web hubiéramos enviado más mails de protesta	People from the website would've sent more protest emails	As row 51
52	Èric	Castilian	hasta que nos hicieran caso.	Until they listened to us.	As row 51
53	Cardeñosa	Castilian	Ya.	I see.	As row 51

Before Emilio enters, there is a shot showing Ferran, Èric and Rosa sitting close together beneath a large sign reading "TODO POR LA PATRIA" translated in the subtitles as "EVERYTHING FOR OUR FATHERLAND" (Figure 23). The family occupies just the lowest portion of the screen, with the sign high above them, underlining their powerlessness next to the State. This Castilian phrase is repeated in signage in an exterior shot of the police station. Èric Bertran recalls in his book that this sign and the signs reading "Todo por el rey" (Everything for the king), and "Moriremos por el rey" (We will die for the king) seemed to him to be "coses molt més radicals que les que jo hagi pogut dir o fer en tota la meva vida" (much more radical than anything I could have said or done in my entire life) (2006: 33). The camera also focuses on posters on the walls with photos of "terroristas peligrosos" (dangerous terrorists). The juxtaposition of the tiny Èric seated beneath these highlights the absurdity of his situation. These Castilian-language signs and posters, along with the large Spanish flag in the corner behind a guard, as well as the framed photo of King Juan Carlos and the small Spanish flag in Cardeñosa's office, visually denote the authority of the Spanish State in this situation, increasing the sense of vulnerability and intimidation for Èric and his family. The scene cuts between Èric and Cardeñosa, and as the interview continues the camerawork zooms in in increasing close ups, for example at row 40, which add to the tension. Even in close up, the flag and the photo of the King are still visible behind the Captain.

In terms of language variation, the lawyer Emilio greets the family in Catalan, presumably to make them feel at ease, and in the interview room he speaks Castilian, for professional and strategic reasons, in order not to provoke the Guardia Civil. The subtitles here do not provide any information on language variation in this scene,

except in row 28, when Èric specifies that the name of his organisation is in Catalan. The subtitles provide an explanatory addition that is not present in the dialogue. However, in row 29 the Captain repeats the name in Castilian, and there is no indication in the subtitles that he has ignored Èric's correction.

Èric speaks Castilian during this interview. However, he later decides that he wants to speak Catalan at the high court hearing, against the advice of his lawyer, who tells him that to do so would be a provocation. Èric responds "Why? I have the right to speak my own language, don't I?" However, as pointed out by Clare Mar Molinero, Catalan does not have official status everywhere in Spain, just in Catalonia, which, she argues, limits "the promotion of non-Castilian languages to discrete geographical areas, and ensuring the continued domination of Castilian" (1994: 325). Nonetheless, Èric persists, saying "doncs declararé en català" (then I will give a statement in Catalan). His refusal to give up on his values in the face of intimidation shows how he fits into the category of a "Catalan hero" who makes sacrifices for the good of his community and his cause.

6.3.6 The Hearing

01:12:40

In Madrid on December 15th 2004, Èric was questioned by a prosecutor at the *Audiencia Nacional,* who demanded that he admit to being Spanish or he would be imprisoned. As noted above, the script from this scene is largely taken from court transcripts, with a few exceptions, notably the omission of the prosecutor's inadvertent admission that she had not read the original email. Another significant omission is Èric's reluctant acceptance that "políticament, per desgràcia" (politically, unfortunately), he is Spanish. By leaving this out, the filmmakers present Èric as a hero who never wavered in his commitment to Catalan independence, even when threatened with imprisonment.

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	Assistant	Castilian	Pasen por favor	Come in, please	Visual: security camera-style black and white footage as they enter, from

					above.–*official and realism, seriousness.* Static writing: 15-12-2004; 11:01:49. GRAB [rec].
2	Clara	Castilian	Hola Èric. Soy Clara, la fiscal.	Hello, Èric. I'm Clara, the prosecutor.	Visual *mise en scène*: security cameras at both ends of the room. They file in, Rosa's hand on Èric's shoulder.
3	Clara	Castilian	Él es Rafael, y va a traducir de catalán al español.	This is Rafael, he'll translate from Catalan to Spanish.	Visual: Rafael at the side, not on either side of the desk. In front of grey blinds, vertical- bleak.
4	Rafael	Castilian	Hola.	Hello.	Visual: from Clara's side of the desk of them entering. Long shot showing all characters.
5	Clara	Castilian	Ustedes deben ser Rosamari y Fernando, los padres	You must be Rosamari and Fernando, the parents.	Visual: Clara and Rosa shake hands, Èric clutching the folder of signatures.
6	Clara	Castilian	Encantada.	Nice to meet you.	Ferran and Clara shake hands.
7	Emilio	Castilian	Hola, soy Emilio Colmenero, el abogado de Èric.	Hello, I'm Emilio Colmenero, Èric's lawyer.	Emilio steps forward to shake Clara's hand.
8	Clara	Castilian	Buenos días. Siéntese, por favor.	Good morning. Please, take a seat.	Visual: camera moves tighter on Clara and the interpreter, with grey blinds behind
9	Clara	Castilian	Èric, tú siéntate aquí.	Èric, you sit down here.	Clara smiles and points to a seat.
10	Clara	Castilian	Si quieren, pueden sentarse al fondo.	You can sit down at the back.	Rosa lets go of Èric's shoulder and Èric sits down, looking down. Wide shot showing camera above them. Filmed over Clara's

					shoulder as she sits.
11	Clara	Castilian	Son de Lloret de Mar, ¿no?	You're from Lloret de Mar.	Clara smiles at Èric's parents. Framing her in the shot is a large Spanish flag and a framed photo of King Juan Carlos- the strength and power of the state behind her.
12	Clara	Castilian	Yo voy en Playa de Aro. Está muy cerquita, ¿no?	I spent the summer in Platja d'Aro. It's close by.	As in row 11
13	-Rosa -Clara	Castilian	Sí, está aquí mismo. Y qué zona tan bonita eh, qué playas.	-Yes, very near. -And what beautiful beaches.	Wide shot of the room showing the security camera above them. filmed over Clara's shoulder
14	Clara	Castilian	Bueno es que no me extraña que venga tanto turismo a España,	No wonder so many tourists come to Spain,	Closer in showing back of Èric's head, Clara, the flag and the king.
15	Clara	Castilian	tenemos un país que es una maravilla.	We have a wonderful country.	Clara smiles, arranging her papers.
16	Clara	Castilian	Tú ¿qué dices Èric?	Don't we Èric?	Èric looks stonily back. Medium shot: Èric and Emilio and his parents behind him, signatures in front of him- support. Camera still in shot.
17	Clara	Castilian	Hm, bueno, empezamos.	Okay, let's get started.	Frame: Clara, the flag and the King. Her smile fades
18	Clara	Castilian	Èric, antes que nada te tengo que preguntar si quieres declarar.	Èric, first I have to ask you if you wish to make a statement.	Alternates between Èric surrounded by his family and lawyer and Clara surrounded by flag and king.
19	Emilio	Castilian	Sí	Yes	Paraverbal: whispers, nods.

20	Èric	Catalan	Sí	Yes	Medium close up on Èric and Emilio
21	Rafael	Castilian	Sí	Yes	Rafael with grey background of vertical window blinds.
22	Emilio	Catalan	Dona-li les signatures	Give her the signatures.	Paraverbal: whispers.
23	Èric	Catalan	Porto aquestes signatures de support.	I've brought a petition.	The camera pans lower, focusing on Èric and Emilio as Èric hands over the black folder.
24	Èric	Catalan	N'hi ha més de dues mil.	With more than 2,000 signatures.	Clara looks at Rafael to prompt him to translate. Camera tightens on her, the flag and the edge of the photo
25	Rafael	Castilian	Pide entregar estas firmas de apoyo, hay más de dos mil.	He wants to deliver this petition. More than 2,000 signatures.	Rafael against the grey background.
26	Clara	Castilian	Este es un interogatorio, Èric.	This is a hearing, Èric.	Clara framed by the flag and the King
27	Clara	Castilian	No se puede presentar ninguna documentación.	You can't present any documents.	Looking at Emilio-scolding. Camera moves to back of Clara's head, Èric's party grouped together in the shot.
28	Clara	Castilian	Bien, empezamos.	Okay, let's start.	Clara, the flag and the edge of the photo
29	Clara	Castilian	Èric, ¿sabes por qué estás aquí?	Èric, do you know why you are here?	Cut to back of Clara's head, Èric's party grouped together in the shot.
30	Èric	Catalan	No.	No.	Continues to cut with dialogue turns.
31	Clara	Castilian	Estás aquí,	You're here	Paraverbal: Clara

			porque has amenazado a una cadena de supermercados,	because you threatened a supermarket chain	speaks slowly. Framed by flag and King
32	Clara	Castilian	y te ha denunciado.	and they reported you.	As in row 31
33	Èric	Catalan	No, no he amenaçat a ningú.	I didn't threaten anybody.	Cut to Èric's group, positioned low in the frame
34	Rafael	Castilian	Yo no he amenazado a nadie.	--	Rafael speaking, against grey background
35	Clara	Castilian	Yo creo que sí, Èric.	I think you did, Èric.	Camera is closer with the flag, Clara and the edge of the king's photo.
36	Èric	Catalan	Doncs jo crec que no.	Well, I don't	Medium shot of Èric's group
37	Rafael	Castilian	Pues yo creo que no.	--	Rafael speaking.
38	Clara	Castilian	Cuando no entienda alguna cosa ya le pediré que traduzca, ¿hm?	When I don't understand, I'll ask you to translate.	Clara turns her head to address Rafael.
39	Clara	Castilian	Enviaste un email con amenazas terroristas	You sent a mail with terrorist threats	Camera moves closer: back of Èric's head and Clara, as their debate develops. a scrap of flag and corner of photo visible.
40	Clara	Castilian	por eso estás aquí, el informe de la Guardia Civil lo deja muy claro.	The police report is clear.	Closer of Èric and the back of Clara's head. This alternation continues until row 48.
41	Èric	Catalan	Jo no he amenaçat a ningú, i no soc cap terrorista.	No, I didn't, and I'm not a terrorist.	
42	Clara	Castilian	Cómo que no, Èric, claro que	Of course you made a threat,	

			has amenazado.	Èric.	
43	Èric	Catalan	No, llegeix el mail que vaig escriure, és que no hi ha cap amenaça.	Read the email. It's not a threat.	
44	Rafael	Castilian	Lea el correo que escribe, no hay ninguna amenaza.	--	Rafael, alone in the shot.
45	Clara	Castilian	Ya he leido el correo Èric, y amenazabas.	I have read it, Èric, and you made a threat.	
46	Clara	Castilian	Y esto es muy grave.	And that's very serious.	
47	Èric	Catalan	No és veritat. Em pots ensenyar on amenaçava?	It's not true. Can you show it to me?	
48	Rafael	Castilian	No es verdad. ¿Me puede enseñar donde amenazaba?	--	
49	Clara	Castilian	A ver	Let me see.	Zooms out on Clara as she searches amongst her papers.
50	Clara	Castilian	Pues, bueno	Actually,	Èric looks at Emilio
51	Clara	Castilian	Ahora no tengo el email a mano pero es igual. Lo que me interesa es-	I don't have it to hand. But it doesn't matter. What matters…	Close up of Emilio's face then Clara speaking
52	Èric	Catalan	No, és igual. Vull veure el mail.	It does matter. I want to see the mail.	Èric as he interrupts, just Èric and Clara in shot. adversarial.
53	Clara	Castilian	No, no, si le he entendido, por favor.	I understood him, thank you.	Rafael as he begins to speak the Clara as she speaks sharply to him.
54	Clara	Castilian	Te estoy diciendo que yo no tengo el email aqui.	I don't have the email here.	Close up on Clara
55	Èric	Castilian	¿Pues quién lo	Then who does	Close up on Èric

			tiene?	have it?	
56	Clara	Castilian	Èric, no creo que estás en situación de exigir absolutamente nada.	Èric, you're not in a position to demand anything.	Cut to Rafael, then Clara.
57	Assistant	Castilian	A-aquí está el email	Here is the email.	Assistant hands paper to Clara who does not smile
58	Clara	Castilian	Mira lo que escríbiste	This is what you wrote.	Close on Clara as she reads the email, continues until row 61
59	Clara	Castilian	"Espero una respuesta diciendome si sí o si no.	"I expect a reply with either a "yes" or "no".	
60	Clara	Castilian	Si no recibo nada antes del día uno del octubre del 2004	If I haven't received on by October 1st, 2004,	
61	Clara	Castilian	Me pensaré que pasan de mí.	I will think you are ignoring me.	
62	Clara	Castilian	Entonces no les pediré otra vez a las buenas.	Then I won't ask you again politely	Close up on Èric
63	Clara	Castilian	Le vendrá a pedir que lo traduzcan toda mi organización	My whole organisation will demand you translate it,	Cut between Clara and Èric
64	Clara	Castilian	Y no creo que muy simpáticamente	And they won't ask so nicely".	As in 63
65	Clara	Castilian	¿Esto no es una amenaza?	Isn't that a threat?	Switches back to Clara, flag and the back of Èric's head.
66	Èric	Catalan	No. Només diu que	No, it only says	Cut to Èric, until row 68
67	Èric	Catalan	no seré gaire simpàtic.	I won't be very nice.	
68	Èric	Catalan	Res més.	That's all.	

69	Rafael	Castilian	No, solo digo que no voy a ser muy simpático. Nada más.	--	Rafael , then cut to Clara in close up.
70	Clara	Castilian	¿No es cierto que pensabas bombardear con correos electrónicos	Is it true you intended to bombard them with emails	Security footage style again. Sound becomes more echoey as if its recorded on cctv. time: 14:42:23 shows they have been in there for nearly four hours. subtitles at the top of the screen.
71	Clara	Castilian	la página web de esta empresa si no te respondía?	if they didn't answer you?	Back to ordinary footage. Clara, flag and king.
72	Èric	Catalan	No, només volia enviar mes mails de protesta.	No, I just wanted to send more protest mails.	Èric, Emilio, his parent behind them in between them.
73	Rafael	Castilian	No, solo quería enviar más mails de protesta.	--	Clara looks at Rafael, the Rafael, no subtitles as he speaks.
74	Clara	Castilian	Pero en el foro de tu web,	But on your website forum	Clara, flag and king as she gears up for another attack.
75	Clara	Castilian	le dices a un amigo, que el día uno de octubre de 2004	you told a friend that on October 1st 2004	Camera stays on Clara
76	Clara	Castilian	atacaréis bombardeando con correos electrónicos.	You will bombard them with emails.	Cut to Èric's group
77	Clara	Castilian	Y también, este Post-it, que se encontró en tu habitación	And this Post-it, which was found in your room	Clara shows a print out of a photo of the Post-it.
78	Clara	Castilian	pone "bombardear"	says "bombard".	
79	Èric	Castilian	Pero eso no lo puse en el email	I didn't put that in the mail.	Èric: raises voice, interrupts, angry

					expression. losing control.
80	Èric	Castilian	Es una formar de hablar con amigos.	It's a way of talking with friends,	
81	Èric	Castilian	Solo quería enviar más mails de protesta.	I just wanted to send more protest mails.	
82	Clara	Castilian	Pero en la conversación con tu amigo sí que lo dices.	But you said it to your friend.	Cut to Clara
83	Èric	Castilian	Pero es privada. Nunca amenacé a nadie con bombardear.	But that's private. I never threated anyone.	Cut back to Èric
84	Clara	Castilian	¿Tu sabes lo que	Do you know what	Closer on Clara and flag
85	Clara	Castilian	significa "bombardear con correos electronicos" en términos informáticos?	"bombard with emails" means in computing terms?	
86	Èric	Catalan	Sí que ho sé.	Yes, I do.	Close up on Èric, who looks down
87	Clara	Castilian	Apunta, apunta que sí que lo sabe.	Make a note of that, he was aware.	Close up on Emilio
88	Èric	Catalan	Només vaig parlar amb un amic meu!	I just said it to a friend!	Zooms out again to fit Èric's whole group. Èric has raised his voice
89	Rafael	Castilian	No se lo dije a ningún informático. Solo se lo dije a un amigo mío.	--	Cut to Rafael
90	Clara	Castilian	Ya, pero sabías lo que significaba, por lo tanto eras consciente de	But you knew what it meant, so you were aware	Clara nods

91	-Clara -Èric	Castilian	-lo que hacías. -Yo con mi amigo hablo cómo me da la gana.	-of what you were doing. -I can tell my friend anything I like.	Close on Èric
92	Clara	Castilian	Muy bien.	All right.	Pause before she speaks. Close on Clara
93	Clara	Castilian	Pero es una amenaza hablar así.	But it's a threat to speak that way.	Paraverbal: she speaks slowly
94	Emilio	Castilian	Señora fiscal, eh, con su permiso	Madame prosecutor, may I?	Emilio with Rosa behind him, anxious-hand over mouth.
95	Clara	Castilian	Adelante, letrado	Go ahead, counsellor	Close up on Clara
96	Emilio	Castilian	Vamos a ver, Èric	Tell me, Èric	Cut back to Medium shot of Emilio and his group. until row 102
97	Emilio	Castilian	¿Tu disponías de algún programa	do you have a program	
98	Emilio	Castilian	que te permitiese ejecutar un bombardeo informático	capable of sending a bombardment of emails	
99	Emilio	Castilian	Para bloquear la web de esa empresa?	which could jam their website?	
100	Èric	Catalan	No.	No.	
101	Emilio	Castilian	No.	--	
102	Emilio	Castilian	Vamos a ver, ¿Cuándo escribíste el mail, esperabas que te respondieran?	When you sent the email, were you expecting a reply?	Clara leans back, the cut to Emilio then Èric
103	Èric	Catalan	Sí	Yes.	
104	Emilio	Castilian	O sea que, ¿entiendo que tú	And you gave your email	Close up on Emilio

			les proporcionaste tu dirección de correo electrónico	address	
105	Emilio	Castilian	para que ellos te pudieran responder? ¿no?	so they could reply, didn't you?	As in row 104
106	Èric	Catalan	Sí	Yes.	Close up on Èric
107	Emilio	Castilian	¿Señora fiscal, no es un poco raro	Madame prosecutor, isn't it weird	Cuts between Emilio and Clara
108	Emilio	Castilian	Que una persona que tiene la intención de cometer un delito	for somebody who intends to commit a crime	
109	Emilio	Castilian	proporcione su dirección de correo electrónico? ¿Es un poco extraño, no?	to supply their email address? Isn't that strange?	
110	Clara	Castilian	Vamos a ver, Èric	Let's see, Èric	Alternates between Èric and Clara until row 113
111	Clara	Castilian	En tu web haces referencias	On your website, you make references	
112	Clara	Castilian	a organizaciones terroristas como ETA	to terrorist organisations like ETA	
113	Èric	Catalan	Sí, però no ho he escrit jo. Son coses que diu la gent que es conecta.	Not me. Those were written by people who visit the site.	Close up on Èric
114	Ferran	Catalan	Tu sabies que tenia això a l'ordinador?	Did you know about this?	Close up on parents whispering with each other.
115	Rosa	Catalan	No, no ho sabia	No, I didn't	
116	Clara	Castilian	Claro.	Of course.	Clara nods

117	Clara	Castilian	Tu nickname es Fénix1123	Your username is Phoenix1123, correct?	Close up Emilio, then Clara
118	Èric	Catalan	Sí	Yes	Close up Èric
119	Clara	Castilian	Pues a ver qué me puedes decir de esto, Èric	Then tell me about this, Èric.	Close up Èric, the Clara
120	Clara	Castilian	Leo textualmente	I'll read it word for word.	Close on Clara as she reads, speaking slowly
121	Clara	Castilian	"Pues yo hablaré con mis amigos de ETA	"Then I'll ask my friends from ETA	
124	Clara	Castilian	que os meterán una bomba por el culo".	to plant a bomb under your ass".	
125	Clara	Castilian	Esto está firmado por Fénix 1123	This is signed by Phoenix1123.	Parents reactions, dismayed.
126	-Emilio -Clara	Castilian	-¿p-puedo- puedo verlo? -Sí claro cómo no	-Can I see that? -Of course.	Emilio reaches for the paper. Rosa can be seen over his shoulder.
127	Èric	Castilian	Esto es porque los fachas me amenazaron con apuñalarme	The fascists threatened to stab me.	Close on Èric.
128	-Èric -Clara	Castilian	-y queria darles miedo -¿Lo escribiste tú? ¿Sí o no?	-I wanted to scare them. -Did you write it? Yes or no?	Close Clara. Èric looks at Emilio, looks down rather than answer
129	Clara	Castilian	¿Tú sabes lo que singifica esto Èric?	Do you know what this means Èric?	Clara nods
130	Clara	Castilian	Esto es exaltación del terrorismo.	This is glorifying terrorism.	Emilio removes glasses.
13	Clara	Castilian	Las bandas	You can't even	Èric's parents look at

1			terroristas no se pueden ni nombrar, Èric, ni nombrar.	mention terrorist gangs, Èric.	each other, worried, then close up on Clara
132	Èric	Castilian and Catalan	Ya, y no les importa que la banda feixista me amenazaba con matarme,	Don't you care that the fascists threatened to kill me?	Èric, voice raised
133	-Èric -Clara	Castilian	-a mí y cualquier que no piensa como ellos -Este no es el caso que nos ocupa.	-Me and anyone different to them. -That's not why we're here.	Èric, voice raised, speaking quickly, then cut to Clara
134	-Emilio -Clara	Castilian	-Pero Èric tiene razón. -No le he dado la palabra señor letrado, por favor.	-But he's right -I didn't say you could speak.	Emilio as he speaks, Clara points at him., Emilio nods.
135	Clara	Castilian	Vamos a ver, Èric	Now then, Èric.	Extreme close up on Clara
135	Clara	Castilian	La Guardia Civil encontró esto en el disco duro de tu ordenador.	We found this in the hard drive of your PC.	Clara leans forward, the flag can be seen at the side of the screen
136	Clara	Castilian	Es muy grave quemar una bandera española,	It's an offence to burn the Spanish flag.	Clara holds a print out of a picture of the Spanish flag on fire at a demonstration, close up.
137	-Clara -Èric	Castilian	-¿Lo sabes? -No.	-Did you know that? -No.	Extreme close ups of Clara and Èric alternate until row 140
138	Clara	Castilian	Pues, sí.	Well, it is.	
139	Clara	Castilian	Es un delito muy grave penado por la constitución Española.	A serious crime punishable under Spanish law.	

140	Èric	Catalan	Ja però no he cremat cap bandera.	But I didn't burn any flag.	
141	Rafael	Castilian	Pero yo no he quemado ninguna bandera.	--	Close up on Rosa, then back to Clara
142	Clara	Castilian	Me da igual, porque tener imágenes como esta es lo mismo.	I don't care, having images is just as bad.	Emilio staring at Clara, astonished.
143	Èric	Catalan	Ah sí?	Is it?	Close up on Èric
144	Èric	Catalan	Ho he tret de Google. Per qué no denuncien a Google?	I got it from Google. Why don't you charge them?	Cut from Èric to Clara
145	Rafael	Castilian	Ah sí, pues lo saqué del Google, por qué no denuncian a Google.	--	Rafael, also close up
146	Clara	Castilian	No te hagas el gracioso, Èric	Don't get smart with me, Èric.	Alternates between Clara and Èric in close up until row 154
147	Clara	Castilian	-Esto es ultraje a la bandera, a la bandera de todos, a tu bandera.	This is a desecration of the flag. Our flag. Your flag.	
148	Èric	Castilian	¿A mi bandera?	My flag?	
149	Èric	Catalan	Jo només tinc una bandera i no és precisament la espanyola.	I only have one flag and it isn't the Spanish one.	
150	Rafael	Castilian	Yo solo tengo una bandera y no es precisamente la española.	--	

151	Clara	Castilian	La bandera española es tu bandera porque eres español.	The Spanish flag is your flag because you're Spanish.	
152	Èric	Catalan	Jo no sóc espanyol.	I'm not Spanish.	
153	Clara	Castilian	Eres español te guste o no te guste.	You are Spanish, like it or not.	
154	Clara	Castilian	Yo soy burgalesa pero también soy española.	I'm from Burgos, and I'm also Spanish	Ferran in close up
155	Clara	Castilian	Tu eres catalán pero también eres español.	You're Catalan but you're also Spanish.	Alternates between close up on Èric and Clara until row 163
156	Clara	Castilian	Y tienes que respetar tu bandera.	You must respect your flag.	
157	Èric	Catalan	Jo soc català i respecto la meva bandera.	I'm Catalan and do respect my flag.	
158	-Clara -Èric	-Castilian -Catalan	-Eres catalán y español. - Soc català.	-You're Catalan and Spanish -I'm Catalan.	
159	Clara	Castilian	Eres español te guste o no te guste. ¿Verdad que eres español? Di,	You're Spanish, like it or not. You're Spanish, aren't you?	
160	Clara	Castilian	Èric te estoy haciendo una pregunta y quiero que me respondas.	Èric, I asked you a question. I want you to answer me.	
161	Clara	Castilian	Verdad que eres español? Eres español?	You are Spanish, aren't you? Are you Spanish?	
162	-Èric	-Catalan	- Jo sé el que soc.	-I know what I	Close on Èric as he speaks. Clara jabbing

	-Clara	- Castilian	-Di que eres español o te encierro!	am -Say you're Spanish or I'll lock you up!	her finger. After Clara speaks: Emilio and Èric stare at Clara, Rosa with her hand to her mouth. close on Clara
164	-Emilio -Clara	Castilian	- Señora fiscal -Señor letrado por favor.	-Madame prosecutor… -Counsellor, please.	Paraverbal: Emilio's voice is quiet, hesitant, while Clara's voice is loud.
165	Clara	Castilian	Èric, por última vez, di que eres español.	Èric, for the last time, say that you're Spanish.	Paraverbal: Emilio's voice is quite, hesitant, while Clara's voice is loud. Ferran, Clara, close on Èric
166	Clara	Castilian	Muy bien Èric, tu decides.	Very well, Èric. Have it your way.	Close up of both Èric and Clara. music precedes the end of the scene

This scene is unusual in that it includes an interpreter, even though most people present understand both Catalan and Castilian, and it is clear that Clara understands almost all of what Èric says in Catalan. The presence of the interpreter embodies Èric's stubborn yet brave decision to speak Catalan in a fiercely Castilian institution, and is a physical manifestation of the presence of both languages. The cinematography always shows the interpreter alone in the frame, without even any props, reflecting the nature of the job, as supposedly neutral and separate from the situation. The presence of an interpreter also entails repetition of dialogue, which the subtitles (34, 37, 44, 48, 69, 73, 89, 141, 145, and 150) do not translate twice. The translation is provided for Èric's initial Catalan utterance, and while Rafael interprets into Castilian there is no subtitle. In a situation such as the high court in Madrid, Catalan would be the subordinate language. Translating the Catalan and leaving the Castilian untranslated reverses this dynamic, as it is normally the more dominant language that is translated in a multilingual scene. However, rather than being a conscious translation approach, it has come about because the Catalan is always

spoken first, so the repetition in Castilian is not translated. Nonetheless, the effect is to keep the viewer in Èric's shoes, presenting the events from his perspective.

The security cameras, which are visible above the cast, and that appear to provide recorded footage in rows 1 and 70, contribute to the sense of the power of the State, and the recordings seen add to the realism and the seriousness of the situation, as well as providing an indication of how long the interview lasted, through time stamps. Once again, the photo of King Juan Carlos and the Spanish flag are visual signs of the institutional power in the room. These are visible whenever Clara is shown, in the first half of the scene, before the framing moves on to close ups, again as a way to build tension, in combination with the characters' raised voices. The flag in this office, however, is notably larger than that in Cardeñosa's interview room, in line with Clara's higher status. These visual indications of the power of the state and Èric's vulnerability are useful, but the film is specifically about language, so therefore verbal as well as visual indications would be beneficial.

Clara establishes the dominance of Castilian and the Spanish state by referring to Ferran as "Fernando" and by claiming the town of Lloret de Mar, in Catalonia, as an asset for Spain under the guise of small talk (rows 5 and 15). However, in row 12 when Clara mentions the town of "Playa de Aro" the English subtitles read "Platja d'Aro", the Catalan name. Clara's assertion that these places belong to Spain is in direct opposition to Èric's view that "Catalonia is not Spain", as seen on his T-shirt in earlier scenes. In Bertran's book, in the chapter entitled "De viatge a l'estrager" (A journey abroad), he mentions that "mai no havia anat a Espanya" (I had never been to Spain) (2006: 72), clearly revealing his view that Catalonia is a separate country.

Èric does occasionally switch to Castilian in this scene (rows 55, 79, 80, 81, 83, 91, 127, 132, 133 and 148). He does this at moments of shock and anger, reacting quickly to what the prosecutor has said, usually raising his voice. When he has calmed down, he reverts to Catalan. This is indicative of an automatic, habitual response of accommodation, despite his strong beliefs, and is a realistic depiction of a Catalan speaker. Despite his determination to speak Catalan, his anger and fear affect his language use. The rapid changes of both interlocutor and language in this scene mean that colour coding would be suited to marking language variation.

Figure 24: Èric in the Hearing declaring his *Catalanitat* (subtitled in Castilian).

6.4 Conclusion

Crameri (2014) notes that a figure of a hero makes remote historical facts seem more personal, immediate and important, making a particular cause less abstract. The film provides a human hero for the cause of Catalan independence, but to an audience that does not see the full facts of his struggle, that is, language variation, his cause remains abstract. In the case of subtitling this film, it is more information, not invisibility, that would bring Èric's struggle to life on TA screens. The political content and the commitment to accuracy in this film mean that entertainment and the suspension of disbelief are less important factors for consideration than for other types of film. The filmmakers intend to make the audience think about languages, language rights and language choice, so an invisibility strategy that largely erases language variation is not well-suited to the nature of the film. As established in Chapter One, viewers are much more screen-literate now than they were when subtitling norms were established, so they can cope with subtitles that provide more comprehensive information. Moreover, research from the fansubbing sector indicates that many viewers desire more information about the SC, and, especially in the case of *Fènix 11.23*, this could be relevant given that those watching it are likely to be interested in the subject matter if not fluent in the languages themselves, and will receive incomplete information from the subtitles. This fact, along with the central

role of language in the film and the filmmakers' clear intentions, suggests that informative subtitles could be a successful strategy that augments this interpretation of the film. Multimodal analysis indicates that there is insufficient marking of language variation in many key scenes, and leads to the conclusion that a strategy of colour-coding would suit this film. Since Catalan is the majority language of the film, and is the language of the protagonist, whom the viewer is expected to sympathise with, the Catalan could be subtitled in white, the default colour of subtitles, and the Castilian could be subtitled in yellow, and thus cast as "other".[15]

In the case of this film, the multimodal aspect of the analysis has worked in support of contextual analysis and verbal script analysis, both of which lead to the conclusion that language variation should be marked. Multimodal theory strengthens this argument by showing that, while there are some visual indicators of language, they alone are not enough. Moreover, these visual indicators, such as the casting of the bullies, and the aligning of Èric with the heroic Harry Potter, support a highly political reading of the film that would be enhanced by subtitles that underscore the linguistic divisions of the region. The film is about Èric's right to speak Catalan, so it follows that his choices and struggle should be reflected in more informative subtitles.

15 I also suggested this colour assignment strategy for the subtitling of *Salvador* (Manuel Huerga, 2006) for similar reasons (Kilpatrick 2013)

Chapter Seven: "This Is Not One of Your Scripts"

Versió Original Subtitulada/Original Subtitled Version

7.1. Introduction

V.O.S. or *Versió Original Subtitulada* (*Original Subtitled Version*, Cesc Gay, 2009), tells the story of four friends and the relationships that end and begin between them over a period of nine months. It also tells the story of that story, becoming a film about the process of making a film. It was directed by Cesc Gay and produced by Marta Estaban PC, and was made in collaboration with TV3 Televisió de Catalunya and Catalan Films&tv, with support from EU Media, the Spanish Government Institute of Cinematography and Audiovisual Arts and the Generalitat de Catalunya's Catalan Institute of Cultural Industries. The film stars Àgata Roca, Andrés Herrera, Paul Berrondo and Vicenta Ndongo, all of whom also starred in the original stage production that was written and directed by Carol López in 2005. López also collaborated with Gay on the script in the adaptation. Few critics or scholars have discussed *V.O.S.,* perhaps because of its very modest impact at the box office, both in comparison with Gay's other work and with other films that were released at the same time (Deleyto, 2013: 227). However, the film was nominated for Best Film in Catalan Language at the 2010 Gaudí awards, and Vicenta Ndongo was nominated for Best Supporting Actress at the Cinema Writers Circle Awards, Spain 2010. At the 2009 Mar del Plata Film Festival, it was awarded Best Screenplay, and it was also part of the official selection for Toronto International Film Festival 2009.

V.O.S. follows the story of two couples. Clara and Manu, played by Àgata Roca and Paul Berrondo, are two friends who have decided to have a baby together despite not being in a romantic relationship. Vicky and Ander, played by Vicenta Ndongo and Andrés Herrera, have been together a long time, and Vicky wants their life together to progress, for them to buy a home and settle down, but Ander is afraid of this commitment and their relationship breaks down. Ander and Clara, who is now pregnant with Manu's child, fall in love and get married. The film starts at the delivery ward of a hospital, where the two men anxiously await news of Clara and the baby. A nurse emerges and, confused that the father of the baby and the mother's

husband are two separate people, asks in Catalan, “Can anyone tell me what is going on here?” (my translation). The rest of the film then proceeds in the form of flashbacks in answer to this question. Ander is a screenwriter, making their story into a film, and the film he is making is simultaneously the film the viewer is watching. However, as Gay argues, *V.O.S.* is more than a film about film-making; it also hints at “the great lie it is to make a film” [my translation] (Sanchez, 2009), showing the viewer that the story they are watching has been crafted and contrived and is in fact one “version” out of many possible perspectives. Indeed, Ander asserts that he will tell the tale how he wants to tell it, and that “the truth is there to be betrayed” (00:15:58).

In this film, the actors and characters are one and the same, and they seem to inhabit the film set and to be living each scene as they act it. Their conversations flow without interruption as they walk through elaborate sets to the bare bones of the staging, and they go seamlessly from impassioned arguments to discussions of how the story should be told. We see the characters in their homes and driving through the city, but are also shown the characters walking from set to set and in stationary cars in front of green screens. We believe we see the skyline of Barcelona from an apartment window, but this is revealed to be a painted backdrop. In a later scene the characters act out their lines, and through the window we see a man painting this very skyline. The viewer is always trying to discover what is “real” and what is part of the “film within a film”, even while being constantly reminded that everything they see is unreal and artificial. Indeed, as Deleyto notes, the distance created between the viewer and the narrative highlights the viewer’s need for a story, and the impossibility of a linear narrative fuels their quest to uncover it (2013: 227). The film’s title plays on this paradox, as it refers to an “original version” that is impossible to find in the narrative itself, as we constantly see behind the scenes and hear the character’s own comments on the narrative they are living. Another paradoxical element is the fact that the film is not really “original” at all, but is an adaptation of a stage play.

Gay’s films often have a very personal, intimate focus. His work tells “intimate stories, rooted in a very specific environment: that of the wealthy middle classes in

Catalonia today" (Deleyto 2008: 355). Gay himself has commented that the subject matter of his films is personal rather than political, that he has avoided social themes, preferring to focus on "el ámbito personal, íntimo" (the field of the personal, the intimate) (Gay, quoted in Deleyto, 2008: 356). Therefore, language variation, specifically the tension between Catalan and Castilian, is not important on a socio-political level in Gay's films, since they do not engage with issues of linguistic and national identity in the way that other films do. However, the language dynamic is still important on a personal or even stylistic level, in addition to simply creating verisimilitude by accurately reflecting the linguistic reality of Catalonia, using what O'Sullivan would term "vehicular matching" (2011: 35). His film *Ficción* (2006) was originally filmed with Catalan and Castilian dialogue, with a Castilian dubbed version also available. Though it is not marked in the English subtitles, the actors, with the exception of Javier Cámara, constantly switch between the two languages. Ginart writes that this is "un reflejo de la realidad lingüística de Cataluña" (a reflection of the linguistic reality of Catalonia) (2006). *V.O.S.* contains dialogue in Catalan and Castilian, in almost equal proportions, and a small amount of dialogue in Basque. All of the characters switch fluidly and frequently between these languages, sometimes even changing mid-sentence, mirroring the way in which they fluidly slide between different narrative levels. There are occasional visual indications of the presence of multiple languages in the ST, but it is not specifically mentioned in the subtitles. Language variation is significant in *V.O.S.* as part of the characters' identities and a marker of their emotional development, and also as a distancing device. In other words, it both helps to create a more realistic, nuanced and interesting portrait of the characters, and also works with other techniques to remind the viewer that these characters and their narrative are not real. Language variation thus contributes to and undermines realism, just as the film's structure both challenges the viewer to decode the "true" narrative and makes this impossible. Language variation is thus one of many tools that Gay uses to capture the viewer's attention and establish distance.

Deleyto notes that the characters have marked Catalan and Basque accents, and their bilingualism and trilingualism has given their spoken Castilian touches of Catalan and vice versa, in contrast with the "linguistic correction and purity of the type

enforced in TV3" (Catalan state television) (2013: 235). This concept is more in keeping with Woolard and Frekko's (2013) observation that Catalan and Castilian language use are not experienced as a mutually exclusive binary, but coexist in a way that is not often reflected in the region's political and cultural output. In contrast to films like *Fènix 11.23* of the previous chapter, and the cultural output of official Catalan television channels and other Catalan films, which present the Catalan and Castilian linguistic communities as entirely separate, Gay challenges this binary by presenting an idea of Catalan identity and language use that is not fixed in opposition to Spanish identity but is an identity of fluidity, bilingualism, or even trilingualism, and diversity.

In *V.O.S.,* the viewer is always kept at a distance from the narrative, and is reminded by the title itself of the language variation and the fact that they are watching a subtitled film. Therefore, it is not really necessary to follow the rules of conventional subtitling, which demand that they be unobtrusive. Indeed, Delia Chiaro's idea that viewer should ideally be able to forget that they are reading subtitles (2013) seems to go entirely against what this film attempts to do. This film in fact presents an opportunity for interlingual subtitles to play a greater thematic and stylistic role, as one more device to call the viewer's attention to the nature and process of filmmaking in a way that complements the filmmakers' techniques.

This chapter will thus explore, through contextual and multimodal analysis, how language variation contributes to creating the film's narrative, thematic and stylistic effects. Section 7.2.1, "Adaptation, Production and Reception" discusses Gay's approach in adapting the stage play for cinema and how his efforts were received by critics, in order to shed light on possible subtitling approaches. Section 7.2.2, "Language and Desire" examines how language variation is related to love and romance in the film, while Section 7.2.3, "Multilingualism and (anti-) verisimilitude" looks at how language variation helps to disrupt the narrative flow and the suspension of disbelief. Finally, Section 7.3, "Close analysis" illustrates how language variation fits into key scenes, and how it is perceived by the TA with suggestions for more informative and creative subtitles where appropriate.

7.2. Contextual Analysis

7.2.1 Adaptation, Production and Reception

"*V.O.S.* was born in the theatre and in the theatre anything is possible" (Gay, 2009).

The film *V.O.S.* was adapted by Cesc Gay from a play by Carol López entitled *Versió Original Subtitulada*. The play was also directed by López, and developed with the same actors as were in the film. The script has not been published. *Versió Original Subtitulada* premiered in January 2005 at the Teatre Lliure, Barcelona. Cesc Gay saw the play in April 2005 and immediately wanted to adapt it for cinema, saying "When the event was over I stayed where I was while I thought about how I could adapt what I had seen for cinema, without losing all of its magic" (Gay, 2009). What drew him to the work was not the story itself, but how the story was told, and this focus on narrative devices and storytelling comes across in the film.

Catalan theatre and cinema have historically been strongly linked: Zatlin (2001) provides examples of the tradition of adapting literary and theatrical works to film, which is particularly common in Catalan cinema, and Deleyto notes that many famous Catalan actors work on both stage and screen (2013: 232). By casting the same actors in his film as were in the stage production, Gay cements this link between the two cultural industries. The adaptation approach he decided to take was radically different to how cinematic adaptations usually function. He adapted it according to the rules of theatre instead of the rules of cinema. Rather than adapting and transforming "the staging of the play, its theatrical games and narrative resources into the appropriate ones for a cinematographic feature film" (Gay, 2009), he chose to keep the artifice and the style of the theatre, with its wooden painted scenery and multi-purpose sets. Teresa Vilardell Grimau therefore observes that Gay "designs a cinematographic staging that attempts to theatricalise the film" (2016: 51).

The need to achieve the same effects on screen as in the theatre requires slightly different tactics, so Gay also moves from a theatrical atmosphere to a more cinematic intertextuality to remind the viewer that the film has been deliberately contrived and

constructed. An example of this is the game in which the central characters mime famous scenes from films such as *Bringing Up Baby* and *Basic Instinct* for the others to guess. Gay constantly reminds the viewer of the film's existence as a created cultural object rather than an unadulterated view of reality. In this sense, creative interlingual subtitles could also be used to this effect, to remind the viewer of the processes involved in translating a film, as well as its production. Gay decided to set the film entirely on a film set, and to change the writer character into a screenwriter. Incidentally, Àgata Roca, who plays Clara, the partner of the screenwriter, is married to Cesc Gay, adding yet another layer of meta-narrative to the interdiegetic mesh. Gay notes that a true adaptation to the modality of cinema would have entailed the use of real spaces for the different scenes, and that cinema almost always builds on the reality of its situations (2009). His conscious decision to move away from this realism means that any subtitles are not beholden to the suspension of disbelief and the invisibility norm either.

A version of *V.O.S.* was dubbed into Castilian and released in some areas of Spain. Watching a film called "*Versió Original Subtitulada*" that has actually been dubbed must considerably add to the film's paradoxical atmosphere. This decision is likely to be due to market forces. As Jordan and Morgan- Tamosunas note, filming in Catalan can be uneconomical, as "few films made in Catalan manage to cover costs through ticket sales" (1998: 180). Chaume Varela and García de Toro write that often the two versions will appeal to different audiences, "[T]he Catalan version is usually shown in less popular arts cinemas, whereas these films are shown in Spanish in more commercial cinemas" (2006). Deleyto asserts that most films made in the region "cannot survive without the box-office receipts of Spanish-speaking audiences" (2013: 233) so it is easy to see the pressure to create a version that is more likely to be watched outside of Catalonia, even if dubbing seems counter-intuitive to the essence of the film. This situation also occurred with the release of *Ficción* (2006), one of Gay's previous films. Commenting on its Castilian dubbed version, Carrasco notes, "it is curious that while the Catalan director tries to show a modern country that takes different identities into account, these kinds of decisions are still made" (2012: 113). She laments that the language variation is lost and the "different identities" are no longer evident in a monolingual dubbed film. This view

seems to be shared by Gay, who Ginart observes "se muestra consternado por haber tenido que doblarla" (seems dismayed that he had to dub it) (2006). The language variation of the original brings another level of verisimilitude, and situates the characters more clearly within Catalonia.

Gay's acknowledgement that *V.O.S.* was not meant to be a high-grossing blockbuster (El Mundo, 2009) contrasts somewhat with producer Marta Esteban's assertion that the film was made for national and international distribution (Vilardell Grimau, 2015: 94). However, the combination of the creative freedom that Gay felt when not creating a film for mass audiences (El Mundo, 2009) and Esteban's wish that the film be watched internationally, both allow for and necessitate more creative subtitles that can reflect the language variation and its stylistic effects. When asked by the media about the Castilian dubbed version of *V.O.S*, Gay said that he wanted to conserve a little of the bilingualism between Catalan and Castilian and maintain a "feeling" of multilingualism present in the original. He demonstrates concern that a monolingual version will feel different, and will have "lost" something (Romo, 2009). Unsurprisingly, the English subtitled version manages to stay truer to Gay's creative vision than the dubbed version, and maintains this "feeling" – in as far as the different languages are still heard in the film's soundtrack. The very presence of the subtitles, in fact, adds to the feeling of multilingualism, whereas in dubbing this aspect is elided. Gay's concern shows that he sees language variation, at least for this film, as more than mere incidental background information, but important in terms of narrative and style.

Many of the critical reviews of the film also highlight the importance of language variation, praising the characters' ease in switching between the three languages. Esteve Riambau notes that the characters "saltan del castellano al catalán y al euskera con la facilidad con la que invocan a Hitchcock, Allen o Tarantino para expresar sus sentimientos" (jump from Spanish to Catalan and Basque with the ease with which they invoke Hitchcock, Allen or Tarantino to express their feelings) and laments the decision to dub the film for a Spanish audience (2009). Oscar González also praises the original narrative structure and the conversations in three languages

that move smoothly from one to the other (2012). Julian de la Fuente criticises the decision to dub the dialogues into Castilian especially in the light of the film's title, but notes that "aunque no sea subtitulada, la película si que es original" (even though it is not subtitled, the film is indeed original) (2009). The sense of loss felt by both the filmmaker and critics regarding the loss of language variation in the Castilian dubbed version leads to the conclusion that the presence of different languages is an important element in the film. Although the English subtitled version preserves these languages in the soundtrack, it is unlikely that viewers depending on the subtitles will pick up on the variation, especially given that the transitions between languages are so smooth. I would therefore like to claim that the subtitles should contain some indications of the language variation in order to preserve the "feeling" of multilingualism.

7.2.2 Scripting Language Variation

V.O.S. was made and released in a context in which language use was becoming both more strongly linked to national identity and less so. The growing independence movement from 2008 onwards, the ongoing struggle to get the new Statute of Autonomy approved between 2006 and 2010, the struggle for stronger legal protection for the Catalan language, all place the use of Catalan in a politicised arena. Deleyto notes that these political struggles "continued to locate language at the centre of the struggle over Catalan identity" (2013: 231). Chapter Six showed how language is an intrinsic part of national identity for many Catalan activists. Meanwhile, outside of political spheres, more and more people were picking up Catalan as new speakers, intergenerational transmission was increasing, and Catalan was being promoted as a language for everyone.

In one scene the group is communicating in a mixture of Catalan and Castilian before Vicky says "speak Catalan, he understands." (0:10:48) Clara had assumed, since Ander was from the Basque country, that he would not be so familiar with Catalan and would prefer Castilian. Ander then replies in Castilian that he understands the language, and adds in Catalan that he intends to learn to speak it. He mixes the two languages when he says "Tranquila, entiendo todo. Yo de aquí un any, tot català" (Relax, I understand it all. In a year, I'll speak Catalan). In this short exchange, the presence of all three languages is summarised, and we are given

insight into the background of the characters. By including references to it in the script, Gay engages with the multilingualism, and makes it part of his characters. For viewers who are familiar with the languages involved, this exchange also adds another layer of information, or confusion, to the chronology of the film: in other scenes they have already heard Ander speaking Catalan fairly fluently.

In this scene, when Ander articulates his intention to become "tot català" (all Catalan) *V.O.S.* draws attention to the pedagogical nature of some other Catalan media. The Generalitat's campaign "encomanar el català" to encourage new Catalan speakers was launched in 2009, and this scene appears to reflect the discourse around language use at the time. Indeed, Vicky's instruction to "speak Catalan, he understands" could have been lifted directly from the Generalitat's campaign.

The film also occupies an unusual space in relation to other media: Deleyto draws a contrast between *V.O.S.* and monolingual Catalan films like those of Ventura Pons, and TV3, the main Catalan television channel, which promotes standardised Catalan, often in a "pedagogical" manner to encourage immigrants to speak it, noting that "the use of language in Catalan films, as in plays or TV programmes, follows ideological or industrial requirements rather than realistic conventions" (2013: 234). In *V.O.S.*, however, the actors speak Catalan and Castilian interchangeably, and both bear the hallmarks of each other. Chapter Three Section 3.2 discussed the influences of Castilian on Catalan, and the way the characters speak in this film shows how languages can bleed into each other. As Deleyto observes, the characters have strong Basque and Catalan accents, and their speech "often incorporates linguistic turns from the other language" (2013: 235). The characters often mix the two languages in one sentence, and the languages are enmeshed together in a way that mirrors the constant transitions between the different narrative layers of the film. While Deleyto is right to note how *V.O.S.* differs from other Catalan language media, "realistic" may not be quite the right word to describe the portrayal of language use. As Riambau notes, the characters' agile jumps between multiple languages is similar to their ease when discussing filmic vocabulary (2009). The frequent, smooth changes of languages help to make the script sound as slick and fast paced as the films frequently mentioned by the characters, and the pointed references to language use draw attention to the act of scriptwriting just as the intertextual references do. One of

the effects of language variation is therefore drawing attention to the artificiality of the script and the film.

7.2.3 Language and Desire

In *V.O.S.*, language, desire and identity are all linked. *V.O.S* is primarily a love story, and language variation seems to play a significant role in the characters' relationships with each other. Though different in their approach to language variation, both *En la ciudad* (2003) and *Ficción* portray their characters through their relationships with each other. As Azcona writes, "[t]he characters in both films have their identities constructed almost exclusively through discourses of intimacy, love and desire" (2009: 233). Deleyto also notes that the characters in Gay's films "se definen exclusivamente por sus relaciones afectivas" (define themselves exclusively through their emotional relationships) (2008: 355). The characters in *V.O.S* could be described in this way. This self-definition through love is expressed through the characters' reference to and use of different languages. Two of the characters, Ander and Manu, are Basque, while Clara and Vicky are Catalan. Deleyto posits that, "given their heterosexual orientation, the difference between the way the male and the female characters speak is part of their attraction to one another" because "linguistic otherness energises desire" (2013: 236). There are indeed occasions in the film when the use of different languages corresponds with the characters' changing relationships. When Vicky senses that her relationship with the Basque Ander is falling apart, she laments, in Catalan, "però si no estic amb el, què? Sola una altra vegada. Ara que començava a entendre l'euskera", subtitled: "And if I'm not with him? Alone again. Now that I was learning Basque" (00:44:00). Her reference to learning Basque suggests that she had moulded herself around this relationship, and now wonders what will become of her. This supports Azcona and Deleyto's claim that Gay's characters are defined through desire; and the use of different languages contributes to this. When Clara and Ander have fallen in love, Clara speaks more Castilian, and even speaks some Basque, although at the start of the story she seemed most reluctant to speak in a language other than Catalan. Indeed, in one scene the other three characters wish each other good morning in Basque ("egun on") and Clara enters and wishes them "bon dia" in Catalan (00:41:48). Her character seems to undergo a transformation; when she was paired

with Manu, whom she did not love, she seemed stubborn and selfish, but with Ander she seems slightly less controlling. This change is illustrated through her use of Basque, which she starts to use for greetings and farewells. So language variation, particularly the use of Basque, is partly a device to show character development. However, near the end of the film, when Clara mentions Ander's favourite football team, Athletic Bilbao, the English subtitles do not provide enough of this information. Not only do they not mark the language change, or insert any clues as to which language is being used, they actually remove a clue from the content of the dialogue which might have helped the audience to deduce the Basque context: the name of the football team, a well-known team from Bilbao. Rather than including the team name, the subtitle simply says "Up with your team!" (01:11:09). This is an example of a CBE that is translated using generalisation, whereby the translator replaces the reference with a superordinate term (Pedersen 2016), in this case, "Athletic" becomes "your team". It appears that the translator decided that this was a monocultural CBE and that it would be simpler to generalise. However, I would argue that Athletic Bilbao is actually a transcultural reference since this football team is well-known in European football. Moreover, the co-text in this scene is helpful; the viewers have been told that Ander is going to Bilbao to watch a football match. An alternative subtitle would be "Come on Athletic" which maintains the CBE and the Basque specificity.

7.2.4 Multilingualism and (anti-)verisimilitude

As established in Chapter Two, multilingualism is present in films for many reasons, with numerous effects from characterisation to comedy. However, realism and verisimilitude are so often mentioned by scholars of multilingual film that it almost seems to be assumed that multilingualism accompanies and creates a sense of realism in films. Chris Wahl (2008) associates multilingual, or to use his terminology, "polyglot film" with authenticity, and Adriana Şerban notes that "there are several reasons for multilingualism in film, mainly linked to the realistic depiction of situations which involve travelling, migration studying abroad, work, or personal relationships in an international environment" (2012: 44). She puts all these different situations and effects under the umbrella of realism. Díaz Cintas implies that the aim of such films is invariably to achieve realism and verisimilitude. He

writes that "in an attempt to reflect reality, multilingual strategies have been a part of cinema ever since its origins", implying that multilingualism creates a lifelike effect, and even that the aim of cinema has always been to reflect reality. He notes examples such as *L'auberge espagnole* (*Pot Luck,* Cédric Klapisch, 2002) and *Mar adentro, (The Sea Inside,* Alejandro Amenábar, 2004) saying that in these films "multilingualism is richly interwoven to create a sense of verisimilitude" (2012: 219). The link between multilingual films and realism is emphasised when he argues that, in comparison to films with only one language, these films "aim at being more authentic and lifelike, a mirror of society" (Díaz Cintas, 2012: 218). In the context of Catalan cinema, it has been argued that the reason for the presence of Castilian dialogue in many films classed as "Catalan films" is that the director wants to portray the sociolinguistic reality in a lifelike way. Gay himself has commented on the presence of different languages in *V.O.S*, saying that it reflects "la situación de Barcelona donde el bilingüismo, e incluso el trilingüismo, es normal. Sin más." (the situation in Barcelona where bilingualism, and even trilingualism, is normal. Nothing more) (Romo, 2009). Once again, the primary function of this language variation would appear to be the portrayal of the linguistic reality in Barcelona. However, even though the languages of Barcelona are represented in this film, the way that they are portrayed is not completely natural. As discussed in Section 7.2.2, language variation is connected to the artificiality and contrived nature of scriptwriting and filmmaking.

V.O.S. is an example of multilingualism in Catalan cinema working *against* verisimilitude, with interesting stylistic and aesthetic results. The film portrays the linguistic situation in Barcelona in the sense that the appropriate languages are included, but at the same time, this is an anti-realistic, disillusioning film, and as well as adding to a sense of verisimilitude, in this film multilingualism works against it. While it is true that the film portrays the linguistic situation of the region, in that it shows the presence of the languages, the way that they are used often sounds artificial and contrived, and it would be misleading to describe this portrayal as verisimilitude, since the film also highlights the artificiality and the deception involved in filmmaking. Gay reflects linguistic reality in a non-realistic film, and much of the language variation contributes to this revealing of the process of

filmmaking and to highlighting the artificiality. The close analysis in the following section will provide examples of this. The analysis of key scenes will provide details on how language variation works in the ST as well as how it appears in the TT. In combination with the contextual analysis above, it will shed light on the most appropriate subtitling strategy.

7.3. Close Analysis

7.3.1 A note on the title

At the very beginning of the film, we see the film crew gathered on a road outside a hospital, a taxi arrives, and a clapperboard snaps, and a shout of "Acció" [Action] is heard. The title "VERSIÓ ORIGINAL SUBTITULADA" appears across the screen, subtitled for the English TA as "SUBTITLED ORIGINAL VERSION". An alternative translation would be "ORIGINAL SUBTITLED VERSION". *"Versió/Version Original Subtitluda"* is a set phrase in Catalan and Castilian, and could be translated either of the two ways described above. However, in this case, I argue that "Original Subtitled Version" is more suitable. This change in word order would clarify that it is not the original version plus subtitles, but that the original version is the subtitled version. There is no separating the subtitles from the "original" and no separating the film from the process of its production. The story does not exist without the materiality of the film.

7.3.2 00:02:44

The following very early scene succinctly introduces many thematic and narrative elements of the film. It begins with a black screen, on which it appears that a script is being typed on a typewriter. The words being typed are in Castilian, but we simultaneously hear them being recited in Catalan. This scene introduces language variation through the visual and aural modes, by presenting a different linguistic code through each channel (the music mode, with English song lyrics, also introduces a third language). Thus the bilingual nature of filmmaking, and social life, in Catalonia is pointedly represented, at the same time that the conflict between the visual and aural modes highlights the artificiality of the film. Figures 25-28 show how this dynamic writing appears on screen as it is being typed, with figure 27 even

including a typographical error, as “como uva” is typed, which is deleted and corrected to “como una”, as seen in Figure 28.

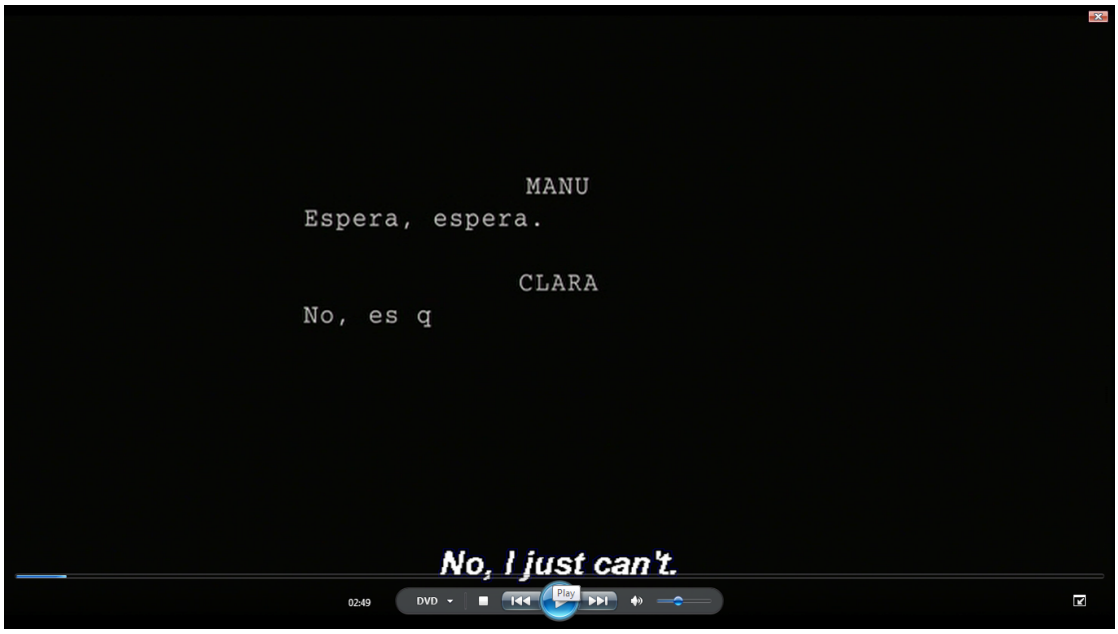

Figure 25

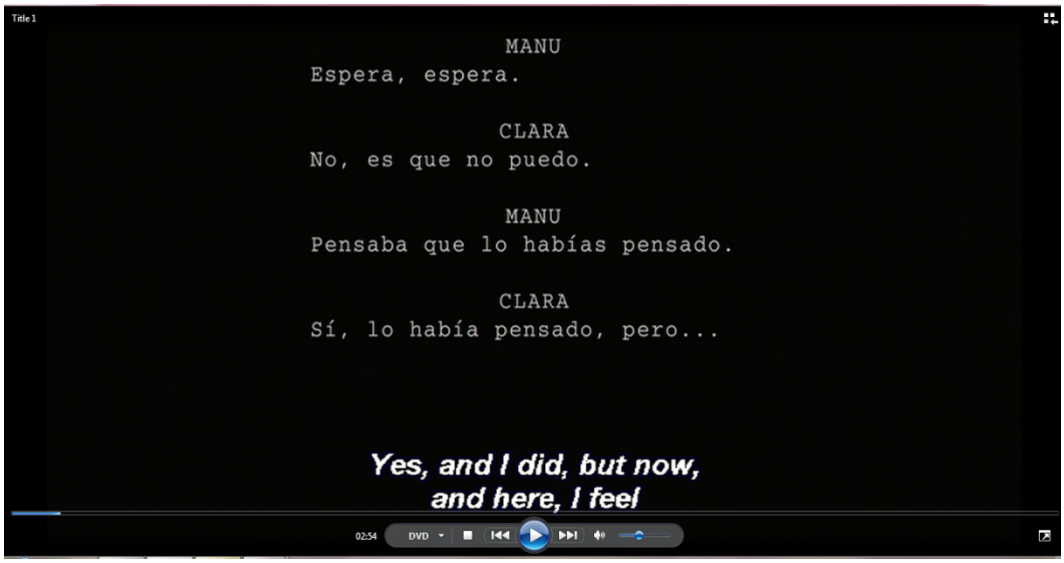

Figure 26

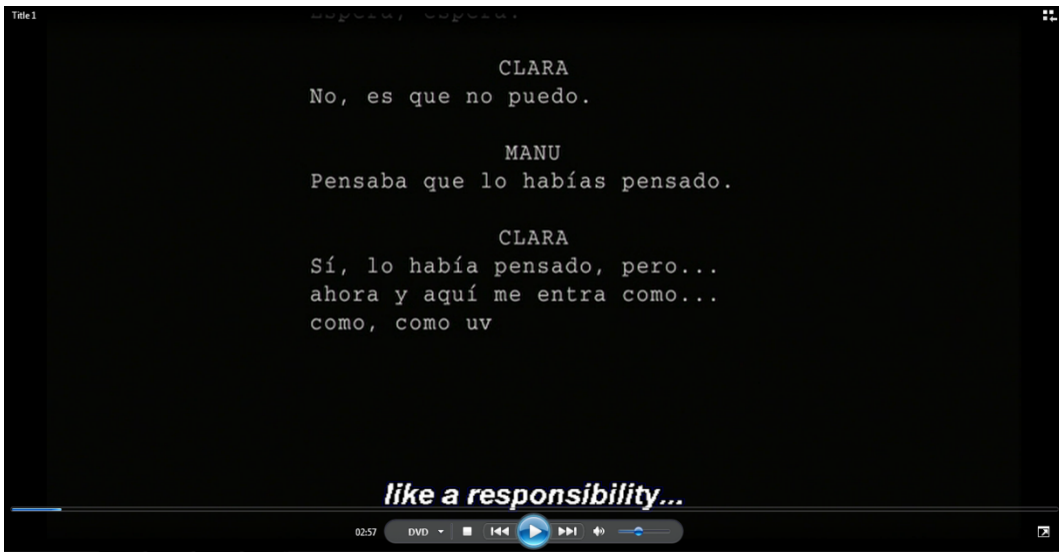

Figure 27

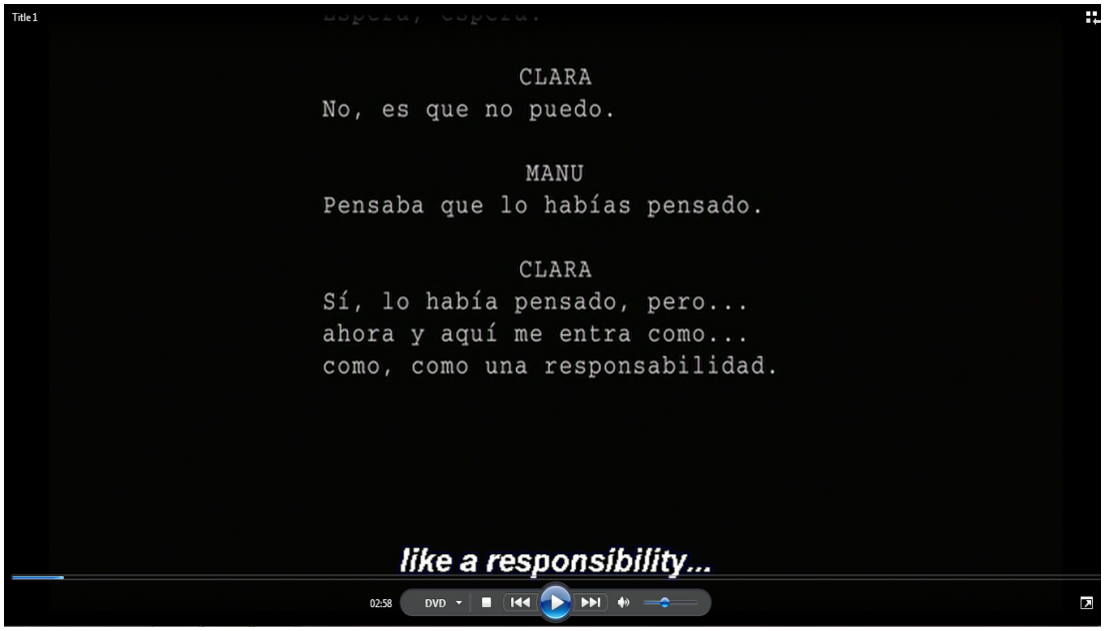

Figure 28

Multimodal Transcription

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	Manu	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen text: Castilian	Espera, espera	Wait, Wait	Visual, dynamic writing appears on a black screen as if being typed: MANU Espera, espera "Extradiegetic" music is also

					heard: *To Love Somebody* performed by Nina Simone
2	Clara	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen text: Castilian	No, és que no puc.	No, I just can't.	Dynamic writing: CLARA No, es que no puedo.
3	Manu	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen text: Castilian	Pensava que ho havies pensat.	I thought you thought it over.	Dynamic writing: MANU Pensaba que lo habías pensado.
4	Clara	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen text: Castilian	Potser ho havia pensat, però ara i aqui me entra com…	Yes, and I did, but now, and here, I feel	Dynamic writing: CLARA Sí, lo había pensado pero… ahora y aquí me entra como…
5	Clara	Dialogue: Catalan On-screen text: Castilian	com…com una responsabilitat	like a responsibility …	Dynamic writing: como, como uva —na responsabilidad.
6	Clara	Castilian	Que ... me corto que me rajo que me voy Manu	I give up, I'm out of here, Manu.	Dynamic writing: Que … me corto que me rajo que me voy Manu
7	Manu Clara	Catalan	-I m'ho dius ara? -Si t'ho dic ara.	-And you tell me now? -Yes.	Wide angle crane shot fades in of coastal motorway on the outskirts of the city, waves breaking, the writing remains visible.
8	Manu	Catalan	Si només es tracta de fer uns quants polvos	It's just having a few screws.	Scene brightens, writing disappears (song still heard)

9	Clara Manu	Catalan	-No és tan fàcil, som amics - Ni que fos la primera vegada	-But we're friends. -As if this was our first time.	Cars continue to drive by, high crane shot continues
10	Clara	Catalan	Pero ja fa molt temps, teníem vint anys i ara en tenim..	That was long ago. We were 20 and now…	Cars continue to drive by, high crane shot continues
11	Manu Clara	Catalan	-Doncs fem una inseminació -No, que és molt car	-We could do an insemination. -That's too expensive.	Cars continue to drive by, high crane shot continues
12	Clara	Catalan	Es que em projecto, em projecto…	I project myself and see my future…	The camera begins to zoom in the road
13	Clara	Catalan	veig el future i no m'hi veig	and I'm not there.	Camera zooms in on a blue car.
14	Manu	Catalan	però si sempre ho havies dit, si als trenta-vuit estaves sola, el tindries amb mi	You always said that at 38 if alone, you'd have it with me.	Continues to zoom in on their blue car, Clara driving, Manu in the front seat, Vicky and Ander visible in the back. Car drives out of shot
15	Clara	Catalan	Ho havia dit, oi? De sempre	-I said that, didn't I? -Yes, all the time.	Cut to interior of car, medium shot. Manu and Clara glancing/smiling at each other, not talking out loud. She reaches

					towards him. The others are reading a magazine in the back.
16	Manu Clara	Catalan	-Ho farem molt bé Clara - I si ens enamorem?	- We'll be okay. -What if we fall in love?	Medium shot from the back of the car, back of heads looking out at road ahead.
17	Manu	Catalan	Ja hem fet massa tard per enamorar-nos som massa amics.	It's too late for that. We're too good friends.	Medium shot from the front: Clara and Manu nod, smiling. Still not speaking aloud.
18	Clara Manu	Catalan	-De tota la vida -De tota la vida	-Since we were kids. -Since we were kids.	They are now speaking out loud. They smile at each other, she strokes his chin. Medium shot
19	Vicky and Ander Clara	Castilian	-¿Un hijo? -Sí.	-A child? -Yes.	Vicky and Ander look at each other, then at the couple. Manu nods.
20	Ander Vicky	Castilian Catalan/Castilian	-Te dije que estaban juntos - Si t'ho vaig dir jo antes	-I told you they were together. -Me too.	Vicky and Ander speak to each other in low voices.
21	Clara Ander	Catalan Castilian	- No no, perdoneu que no estem junts - Habeis estado pues	-No, we're not together. -But you were.	Clara looks into rear mirror, Vicky looks sceptical.
22	Clara	Castilian/Catalan	No, no, no. ¡Qué va! Que no estem ni ho hem estat	No, we aren't, nor were ever.	"Extradiegetic" music still heard

23	Vicky Manu	Catalan	-Perdona? -Només som amics	-What? -We're just friends.	
24	Ander Manu	Castilian	-¿Solo amigos? -Sí	-Just friends? -Yes.	Cut to close up on passengers in back seat
25	Ander Clara and Manu	Castilian	-¿Dos amigos que van a tener un hijo? -Sí	-2 friends who will have a child. -Yes.	Close up of Ander and Vicky
26	Vicky Manu	Catalan	-Un fill biologic? - Sí	-A biological child? -Yes.	
27	Ander Clara and Manu	Castilian	-¿Y no estaís juntos? -No.	-And you're not together? -No.	Looking out at road ahead from behind passengers, we see their faces in profile
28	Vicky Clara and Manu	Catalan	-Pero vivireu junts. -No	-But you'll live together. -No.	Clara and Manu laugh
29	Ander Clara	Castilian	-¿cada una en su casa? -Sí.	-Each one to his own? -Yes.	
30	Vicky Clara and Manu	Catalan	-Amb un nen? -Sí.	-With a child? -Yes.	Close up of Ander and Vicky.
31	Ander Vicky	Castilian Catalan	-No lo entiendo. -És que no és fàcil d'entendre.	-I don't get it. -It's not easy to understand.	
32	Ander Vicky	Castilian Catalan	- Es raro. -Raríssim.	-It's weird. -Strange	Still close up on Vicky and Ander
33	Ander	Castilian	O sea que renuncias a	So you won't have it with	Music quieter

			tenerlo con la persona que tu realmente…	the person you really…	
34	Manu	Castilian	No Ander lo voy a tener con la persona que yo quiero, eh.	No, I'll have it with who I want.	View of Manu and Clara in profile, Clara is looking at the road ahead.
35	Clara	Catalan	No jo també ho tinc claríssim eh.	Yes, Manu and I love each other a lot.	
36	Clara	Catalan	Bueno, es que en Manu i jo ens estimem moltíssim i jo estic encantada de tenir un fill amb ell	I'm happy to have a child with him.	Music has faded in volume in comparison with dialogue
37	Manu	Catalan	Estàs encantada ara pero et va costar una mica decidir-te	You are now, but it took you a while.	
38	Vicky Manu	Catalan and Castilian Castilian	-O sigui que fuiste tu? - Sí, de toda la vida he querido ser padre	-So it was you? -I've always wanted to be a father.	All four characters seen from the front of the car.
39	Ander	Castilian	Bueno, también querías ser futbolista y no pudo ser.	And a footballer, but that wasn't possible.	Ander nods conspiratorially at Vicky while teasing Manu.
40	Clara Manu	Castilian	-¿Futbolista? -Sí, Sí, lateral derecho	-Footballer? -Yes, a defender.	Clara and Manu in profile.
41	Ander	Castilian	Que no es verosímil.	That's not believable.	Vicky and Ander. Paraverbal: Ander speaks forcefully.
42	Manu	Castilian	Pero Ander porque este o	This is not one of your	Close up on

			no es uno de tus guiones.	scripts.	Manu
43	Clara	Castilian	Es la vida, Ander.	That's life, Ander.	Close up on Clara in profile.
44	Manu	Catalan	Costa tant de entendre que vull ser pare?	Is it so hard to understand I want to be a father?	View of all four, Manu leaning back to address Vicky and Ander
45	Vicky and Ander	Castilian/ Catalan	Sí	Yes.	Vicky and Ander look at each other.
46	Ander	Castilian	Si a ti te asusta el compromiso	You fear commitment.	
47	Manu	Castilian	A mi no me asusta. Yo paso de la pareja	No, I don't. It's couples I don't care about.	Paraverbal: Loud, vehement
48	Manu	Castilian	Mira. Pero un hijo es otra cosa.	But a child is different.	Speaking in a softer voice. cut to view from behind
49	Manu	Catalan	Propera sortida.	It's the next exit.	View from behind of heads and the road ahead. Manu points to the left.
50	Clara Ander	Catalan Castilian	-Que voleu comprar? -Mirar	-What do you want to buy? -Look at…	Ander shrugs, non-comittal.
51	Vicky	Catalan	Comprar. Un sofà de color vermell.	To buy. A red sofa.	Loudly. She smiles at Ander.
52	Ander	Castilian	Un hijo es mucho más compromiso.	A child is more of a commitment.	Zooms out onto the group of four.
53	Ander	Castilian	Además no se como os atrevéis a traer un crio al mundo.	How can you bring kids into the world?	

54	Clara Vicky	Castilian	-Pero si son una monada - Sí y un problema	-They're so cute! -And a problem as well.	Clara changing gear, looking in mirror.
55	Ander	Castilian	Voy a necesitarme tiempo para entender eso.	I need time to understand this.	Ander holding a magazine – or perhaps a furniture catalogue.
56	Vicky	Castilian	Pues espabila porque tu amigo va a ser padre.	Your friend's is going to be a father.	
57	Manu	Castilian	Y tú, padrino.	And you the godfather.	Manu turns round to look at Ander. Ringtone sounds. Clara looks at Manu, confused, distracted by driving
58	Ander	Castilian	Me has matado	You've blown my mind.	
59	Clara	Castilian	¿Padrino?	Godfather?	Vicky answers her phone and leans away so she cannot be seen.
60	Clara	Castilian	¿ Cómo que padrino?	What do you mean by "godfather"?	
61	Clara	Catalan	Mira jo me'n vaig, em poses de mal humor	I'm leaving. You're getting on my nerves.	Shot from Clara's side from outside the car, Vicky on phone, we see the sea through windows on the other side. Clara opens her door, undoes seatbelt.
62	Clara Manu	Catalan	- Escolta'm que el meu fill no el	-My son will not be	Car horn blares., scenery rushes by behind the car,

			batejarem, eh? - Què té a veure?	baptized. -What?	which we can see is still.
63	Clara	Catalan	Si no el bategem no hi ha padrins. Per què vols els padrins?	No baptism, no godparents. Why a godfather?	Manu undoes his seatbelt
64	Manu	Catalan	Per la mona	For the Easter bunny.	Clara and Manu get out of the car.
65	Clara	Catalan	Mira, a casa meva no hi entrarà cap mona. Ja t'ho dic ara.	No bunny will get into my home.	We see that there is no road, they are in front of a blurred green screen.
66	Clara Manu	Catalan	- Ja ha hagut de sortir la mona -Les tradicions son bones.	-Now it's the Easter bunny… -Traditions are good.	Manu slams car door, camera pans to show a film studio
67	Manu	Catalan	Donen equilibri. A Euskadi tenim moltes.	They balance your life. We have a lot in Euskadi.	Clara and Manu approach each other, combative.
68	Clara	Catalan	Manu per favor a casa meva no vull padrins, entens?	I want no godparents at home, okay?	Camera tracks backwards away from them, widening frame. They walk off, continue arguing about traditions….onto film set with crew and equipment everywhere.

The "extradiegetic" music that accompanies the typewritten script is an upbeat love song that evokes a joyful, light-hearted feeling. I have placed the word "extradiegetic" in quotation marks in the transcription because in this film there is a

lack of distinction between layers of filmmaking. The black screen with dynamic writing fades into a crane shot of a motorway by the coast (rows 7 and 8) and the camera gradually focuses in on the car in which the four main characters are travelling.

The discussion centres on Manu and Clara's plan to have a baby as friends, and Clara sounds anxious about the idea. The conversation continues, but it soon becomes clear when the frame zooms in on the car that the pair are not actually speaking out loud, again creating a disjuncture between what is seen and what is heard. Clara still sounds reluctant, but eventually her fears are assuaged by Manu. At this point they begin to speak aloud, and the two other characters, Vicky and Ander, join in the discussion from the back seat of the car. They ask questions, quickly and light-heartedly establishing the parameters of the plot. When Manu asks Ander to be the baby's godfather this leads to an argument between Clara and Manu about the role of traditions in their baby's life. Clara gets angry and gets out of the driving seat of the moving car, with accompanying car horn sound effects, at which point it is revealed that they are not driving along the motorway at all but are in a stationary car in front of a green screen on a film set. The couple continue their argument and walk away across the set.

The camerawork introduces the foursome first as two couples, then as the scene goes on it focuses on each person as an individual, (for example, rows 42, 43, 50, 51). This scene sets the tone of the playful romantic comedy that Gay was aiming for (Gay, 2009), introducing the two couples and the plot, as well as sowing the seeds for Ander's fear of commitment and problems in his relationship with Vicky, evidenced through his reluctance to buy a sofa with her (row 50). Ander's complaint about the lack of verisimilitude of Manu's ambitions, and Manu's response that "this is not one of your scripts" (row 42) contrasts with the earlier visual implication that they are reading from a typed-up script, and is then undermined by Clara then getting out of the car into the surrounding film set (from row 61). The visual and the verbal are combined for the effect. Another visual trick is Clara's frequent actions when behind the wheel that imply that she is driving a moving car, such as checking her mirrors and changing gears. These actions increase the surprise when she gets out suddenly and is in a studio. The scene, like the rest of the film, flits between different

narrative layers of the "film" and the "film within a film" erasing any clear-cut boundaries between them to create an inter-diegetic mesh.

The presence of different languages is established through visual means when the Castilian translation to the spoken Catalan dialogue appears on the screen (rows 1 – 7). This is then subtitled underneath in English for the TA. This sets up the dynamic of the rest of the film, in which Catalan and Castilian co-exist in more or less equal quantities, and actors switch between them almost constantly. It also brings the concept of subtitling into the fabric of the film of the ST as well as the TT, highlighting the multilingual filmmaking process. The disjuncture created by pairing Catalan words with a Castilian transcript distances the viewer from the film and the characters. This highlights the fact that the search for the "true story" within the film is futile and shows that what we would ordinarily consider an "original version" of this film does not exist. The use of multilingualism plays a part here in the central conceit of the film, to show the "lie" central to the act of filmmaking. Gay challenges the viewer, constantly revealing the process and the artifice behind what we think we are watching, and this script segment introduces this. The device illustrates the practicalities of living in a multilingual situation and of making a multilingual film. For the viewer of the English subtitles, it also presents this language variation visually very early on, so that even though it is not marked in the English subtitles, the viewer will be aware of it. In row 67, Manu references the multitude of traditions they have in the Basque Country, which establishes the presence of the film's third language. However, both the dialogue and the TT subtitles use the term "Euskadi" which is the Basque term for the autonomous community. This term is not as well-known to TL viewers, so may create confusion. Subtitle 67 has 49 characters, "They balance your life. We have a lot in Euskadi." whereas my alternative translation, while providing more clarity, has 58: "They balance your life. We have lots in the Basque Country". This is a small difference but if necessary the alternative subtitle could be split into two.

In this scene in the original subtitled version, subtitles still appear at the bottom of the screen despite the same Castilian text already being present in the script above (Figure 29). There are various possible reasons for this. It could be a deliberate choice, but it is also possible that the subtitler did not have access to the film's

visuals and so was unaware that the Catalan words were already translated in this instance. Whatever the reason, the effect is one of "over-subtitling" that goes against traditional recommendations for unobtrusive subtitles, as it works to highlight their presence. This is in fact highly appropriate for a film in which "subtitulada" appears in the title. In the Castilian dubbed version the visuals remain the same, but the dialogue is now in Castilian, erasing the disjuncture between the visual and the aural mode.

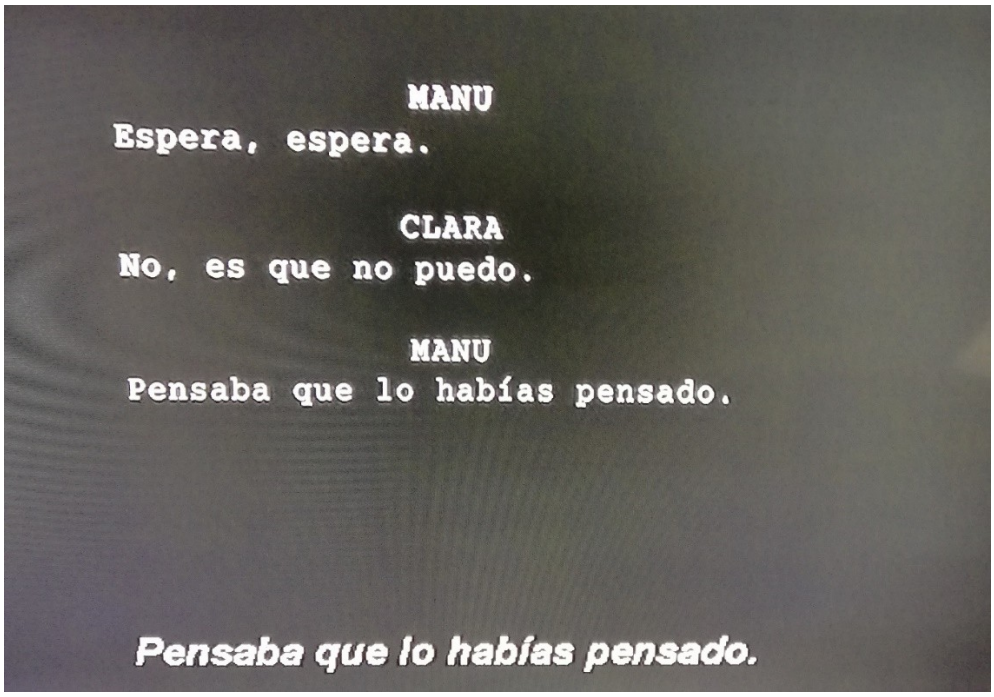

Figure 29: original subtitles

In terms of characterisation, in this scene Ander speaks only Castilian, whereas the other three characters speak mostly Catalan. It is early in the film in both sets of chronologies: the film has only just begun and we are also near the start of the story-within-the story. Later on, Ander speaks more Catalan and the others switch to Castilian and even Basque more frequently. This blending of linguistic habits mirrors the way in which "truth" and "fiction" are blurred until they are indistinguishable from one another.

The multimodal analysis here shows how the viewers are distanced from the film by both visual and verbal devices: first when the script shown is in another language to that heard, and is being typed while the characters are speaking the lines,

highlighting their artificiality, and then through performance and *mise en scène* when Clara exits the car onto the film set. While the TA is given visual indications of language variation, in the initial typewritten lines, they are unlikely to fully appreciate how frequent and fluid the language switches are, nor to keep up with which character seems most at home in which language. However, in this particular scene, it could be argued that the viewers already have so much to process in terms of disruptive devices in the ST that it is best to keep the subtitles simple, particularly as the code-switching is so frequent, and often mid-sentence, that it would be impractical to mark language variation in each subtitle. Certainly, naming the language each time it is changed would be too disruptive and take up too many characters, but colour-coding would also distract from the many other visual and thematic elements of the film. Unlike *Fènix 11.23*, in which language is the central issue, in *V.O.S.* language variation, while significant, is part of a wide array of themes that contribute to the central concepts of romance, telling love stories and filmmaking. The general tone of the film established in this scene, which comes across as light-hearted and unconventional, does, however, mean that more creative subtitles may fit into the film in other, less cognitively demanding, scenes, to convey a little of the sense of multilingualism present in the ST. Multimodal and script analysis has shown that this scene has a light-hearted tone in which the processes of film-making are at the forefront, and distance is deliberately created between the viewer and the characters. The English subtitles for the film in general could therefore be bolder, by departing from invisibility norms both verbally and visually, and call attention to themselves a little more, especially in the instances set out in this study in which more information would be helpful, since invisibility is no longer essential. Subtitles which marked language variation occasionally could fulfil the dual purpose of providing sufficient information as well as contributing to the film's general style, which is that of distancing the viewer and highlighting the processes involved in filmmaking, of which subtitling is one. The following scenes, which have no dialogue, but present intertitles in various languages, would be good candidates for subtitles to mark language variation, since the scenes already constitute an "interruption" of the plot, and the lack of action or dialogue mean that alternative subtitles would not be too cognitively demanding.

7.3.3 Intertitles

00:07:32

Another way in which multilingualism is indicated visually is through the use of signs held up by a crew-member throughout the film, which function like intertitles. These scenes bring in the idea of subtitles as a playful device, calling attention to the filmmaking process. The narrative layers are further interwoven by the fact that the "crew" interact with the "characters" in these scenes. It is in these scenes too that the city of Barcelona is used as a real location, in panoramic and archetypal shots that are typical of Catalan filmmaking.

The first instance of this is at 0:07:48, when we see a painted sign held up against a view of the city (Figure 30). It is a panorama of Barcelona at dawn or dusk, from a hilltop, showing its famous grid street layout, and famous landmarks such as the Sagrada Familia. The camera pans onto a woman, casually dressed, with a baseball cap on, smiling at the camera while holding a crudely painted sign reading "UNES SETMANES ABANS", in Catalan, which is then turned over to reveal in Castilian, "UNAS SEMANAS ANTES" (Figure 30). Meanwhile, the English subtitle below says "A FEW WEEKS EARLIER". We can hear the sounds of the city in the background; traffic, dogs, church bells, and a siren. The woman exits to the left, carrying the sign. This scene is theatrical in its style, in that there are no special effects added, just a visible "stage hand". It also brings in a more filmic use of the city, in the sense that it is really filmed outside of the set, utilizing the city's landscape. However, there is no physical interaction with the setting, which appears rather like the backdrop of a stage curtain.

Figure 30

Figure 31

This long scene has no dialogue, and provides minimal information: there are just six words in the ST, and four words in the TT, and very little physical action, nor any significant aural information. Therefore, the subtitles could provide more

information without overwhelming or distracting the viewer. It would be interesting, and not intrusive, in this quiet scene, to be told, for instance, which language is which on the intertitle. Square brackets, which represent information that is not present in the dialogue, would be a harmonious strategy, since they would mirror the way the "crew" intrude on the world of the "characters". For example the first subtitle could read "[CATALAN] A FEW WEEKS EARLIER" and then be changed to "[SPANISH] A FEW WEEKS EARLIER". This scene already plays with the idea of multilingualism and subtitles, as well as the presence of the filmmaking process in the appearance of the film crew, so subtitles that drew attention to themselves would not be out of place. This device is repeated twenty minutes into the film:

00:19:44

There are various still photographs of the city streets at night and during the day, accompanied by audible shutter clicks. One of these photographs of Via Laietana then comes to life, as the camera zooms in to show Manu standing at a street corner as traffic and pedestrians pass him. He smiles, whistles, and waves at someone out of shot, and is joined by the same crew member as before, carrying a red painted sign. As she approaches him we see that it reads "SETEMBRE" in Catalan, and is turned around after a few seconds to show the word in Basque: "IRAILA", written in a different font. This font is actually the traditional Basque font, although it is unlikely that the TA will be familiar with this. The subtitle below reads "SEPTEMBER". This is the first visual representation on Basque in the film, both linguistically in terms of the language and graphically in terms of the font. Manu then nods at the crew-member and gets into a waiting taxi. In this scene, we have entered the real space of the city, rather than just looking at the view of it, and Manu interacts with the setting, and with the crew-member, linking the different narrative levels in the inter-diegetic mesh. Again, it would be useful, and suitable for the scene, to have indications of the language variation in the subtitles, particularly to indicate the presence of Basque. As above, the subtitles could read "[CATALAN] SEPTEMBER" and "[BASQUE] SEPTEMBER".

Figure 32

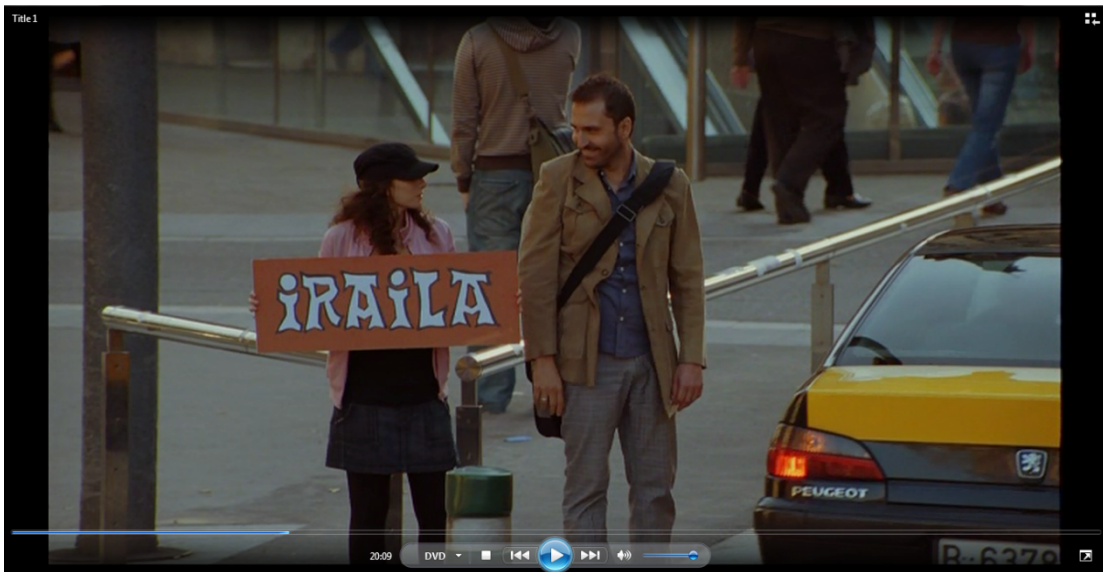

Figure 33

00:47:00

The third time signs like this are used is after an establishing crane shot showing Tibidabo amusement park, once again overlooking the city from a height, beneath vivid, purple rain-clouds. Thunder and lightning crash in the background then the scene changes to a scale model of the set, with a hand positioning the model cars and figurines, going from the panoramic to the miniature. Then the scene returns to life-size as Clara arrives on set, and we see water being poured from above to resemble rain. Wearing a coat and a scarf, Clara walks past and looks at the scale model of the city, greeting two female crew members as she passes. This is a visual metaphor for

how the film moves between narrative layers. One of them is the intertitle holder, who appears to suddenly remember she has another one to show. She hurriedly holds up another red sign with the Castilian word “INVIERNO”, subtitled “WINTER”. However, when she turns it around she discovers that there is nothing written on the other side. She then looks embarrassed, and her girlfriend laughs at her. This subverts the viewer’s expectations for comic effect.

Figure 34

Figure 35

Throughout the film Gay has used multilingualism to establish a pattern of intertitles with pairs of languages. By breaking this pattern here Gay plays with the viewer’s

expectations and invites the viewer to identify with the film crew, highlighting the filmmaking process and further distancing the viewer from the "story", even in the act of telling it. In this way language variation works in parallel with other devices, such as including the crew in the film, to contribute to the overall effect. Much like the script at the start of the film, these signs are used both to represent the multiple languages present in the film and to highlight the process of filmmaking and translation, reminding the viewer that what they are watching is not real. The presence of these languages in different combinations mirrors the way that they coexist in the dialogue. Although the viewer can see them on the screen, there is no indication which language is which, diminishing the effect of seeing them in different combinations. Rather than substituting one language for another, the subtitles add another language, which in a multilingual film like this creates an interesting effect by augmenting the multilingualism and creating another layer in this fragmented and complex film. The use of explanatory additions in square brackets as described above would suit each of these intertitle scenes. While in these scenes language variation has been used as a playful distancing device, the following scenes show how multilingualism is used for character development.

7.3.4 Language use and character development

00:32:01

This scene takes place at a villa in the countryside outside Barcelona, where the four central characters have gone on holiday together. Clara is now pregnant, and she and Ander, who are still in the very early stages of discovering an unspoken mutual attraction, are discussing possible baby names, while Vicky and Manu are discussing possible names for the school Vicky is about to open. Although the scene goes back and forth between two separate conversations, they seem to flow as one, in the same way that the film smoothly manages transitions between different diegetic levels and different languages.

Multimodal Transcription

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	Vicky	Catalan	Saps que passa?	You know what?	Medium shot. Vicky and Manu are sitting

					in the garden, on a blanket by a tree, with the background filled with green leaves, “extra-diegetic” jazz is playing, birds.
2	Vicky	Catalan	Que l’Ander m’ha dit que el nom de l’escola dels sentits era com…	Ander told me that the name of the School of Senses is…	Manu looks up from his laptop to listen.
3	Vicky	Catalan	Que era una mica hortera.	a bit tacky.	
4	Manu	Catalan	Vale.	Okay.	Manu nods.
5	Vicky	Catalan	Vale.	Well…	Vicky quietly sighs and looks disappointed. The music becomes quieter.
6	Clara	Catalan	A mi m’agradaria un nom que fos normal.	I’d like a normal name for it.	Cut to a shot of Clara and Ander by the house, preparing tea.
7	Manu	Catalan	Per que no li posem un nom en Euskera?	Why not give it a name in Basque?	Shot of Vicky and Manu, Vicky is now holding the laptop and Manu looks at her. birds still audible
8	Ander	Basque	Nekane	Nekane.	Brief shot of Clara and Ander
9	Vicky	Catalan	Com es diu “Lluna”?	How do you say “Moon”?	Vicky and Manu’s conversation and manner has become more animated
10	Clara	Catalan	O sigui, “Lluna”, “Sol”, “Estel”	Well actually, “Moon”, “Sun”, “Star”…	Clara and Manu: she speaks while holding tea bags, Ander looks down at something out of the frame.
11	Clara	Catalan	Saps que tot	None of that is of	Clara and Ander

			això no m'interessa gens.	any interest to me.	smiling at each other.
12	Manu	Catalan	Lluna	Moon.	Manu smiles, holding a blade of grass
13	Manu	Basque	Ilargia	Illarguida	Manu smiles at Vicky
14	Ander	Castilian	¿Y por ejemplo, Mar?	And what about "Mar", which means sea?	Ander and Clara
15	Vicky	Castilian	No me gusta.	I don't like it.	Vicky and Manu
16	Clara Ander	Catalan Castilian	-.Això si és nena, no? -¿No sabéis el sexo?	-That's if it's a girl. -You don't know yet?	Clara and Ander, also talking more animatedly.
17	Clara	Castilian	No, es que no, no quiero saberlo.	No, and I don't want to.	Clara and Ander
18	Manu	Basque	Itsaso	Ichazu	Vicky and Manu
19	Vicky	Basque	Itsaso	Ichazu?	Vicky and Manu
20	Ander	Basque/Castilian	Itsaso. Mar.	Ichazu. Mar or sea.	Clara and Ander
21	Clara	Castilian	Este sí que me gusta, "Itsaso"	I like this one, yes. Ichazu.	Clara and Ander, she nudges him in approval
22	Clara Ander	Castilian	-No sabía que tenías un tatuaje. -Todos tenemos un pasado.	-I didn't know you had a tattoo. -We all have a past.	Ander looks her in the eyes, smiles and walks away carrying the tray. The music becomes louder again as Clara and Ander join the other two on the lawn for tea.

In this scene, the couples are split up; Manu and Vicky are sitting on the lawn under a tree with a laptop, and Clara and Ander are by the house preparing a tray of tea to

take to them. Both pairs have the same ideas for names, and the two separate conversations seem to flow as if they were one, jumping between each pair every sentence or so. Both conversations start off languid and relaxed, but become more animated as enthusiasm for the names grows. The segments involving Clara and Ander also start to become slightly flirtatious, especially when she mentions his tattoo, sowing the seeds of the events of later (and earlier) in the film. This is one of the scenes in which all three languages of the film, Catalan, Castilian and Basque, are all present, with a particular focus on Basque names. Some of the multilingual flavour is kept in the English subtitles, which keep the word "mar" in Castilian, and provide a gloss, in subtitles 14 and 20. The Basque words are also transcribed, although there are spelling mistakes, so although the presence of Basque is maintained in the subtitles, it is misrepresented. The presence of Basque as a CBE is explained by the co-text: the characters themselves make it clear verbally that they are speaking Basque (for example rows 7 and 9). In this scene, the word "Basque" is used in the subtitles, rather than "Euskera" which was used in the car scene. This provides more clarity for the TA. Manu and Vicky speak almost entirely in Catalan, while in Ander and Clara's half of the conversation there are more language changes. Clara starts off her part of the conversation in Catalan, while Ander replies in Castilian, but later on she changes to Castilian as well, and in row 17 she even changes mid-sentence. This could be read as a subconscious indication of her growing feelings towards Ander, as she aligns herself linguistically with him, a reminder that languages and desire are linked. While the presence of Basque is both referenced in the dialogue and transcribed, however erratically, in the subtitles, the frequent switches between Catalan and Castilian go unmarked. This means that the TA goes without one of the indicators of Clara and Ander's burgeoning romance. However, a scene a few minutes later presents an opportunity to convey stylistically through the subtitles some of the nuances of character development that in this scene are conveyed through language variation.

00:44:47

This scene also takes place outside the villa, and it is the point at which Ander and Clara acknowledge their feelings to themselves, but not to each other.

Multimodal Transcription

	Speaker	ST language	ST dialogue	TT subtitles	Other modes
1	Clara	Catalan	Què tal?	What's up?	Clara is sitting on a chair under a tree, doing a crossword. Ander approaches and sits on the swing beside her. In the background are various people and filming equipment. Medium shot, the camera gradually zooms in on them over the course of the scene.
2	Clara	Catalan	s'intal·la a la parella no hi ha qui la mati.	There is no way to kill it in couples.	Ander looks at Clara's crossword, his body and feet oriented towards her.
3	Ander	Castilian	¿Seis letras?	Seven letters?	
4	Clara	Catalan	Sí.	Yeah.	
5	Ander	Castilian	Rutina	Routine.	Ander smiles ruefully.
6	Clara	Castilian	¡Hala!	Right on!	Clara writes in the answer and smiles, Ander smiles at her.
7	Clara	Catalan	Que fort! T'ha sortit com…	How heavy. You just said it like…	Clara looks at Ander, smiling.
8	Clara	Catalan	L'has clavat, que fort.	That's it, exactly. How heavy!	Clara gestures hesitantly, trying to think of the right words, Ander nods.
9	Clara	Catalan	Clar jo al no tenir parella no…	Sure, since I don't have a partner…	Clara writes on her crossword, Ander watches her
10	Ander	Castilian	¿Ah, no?	You don't?	Ander looks at her face
11	Ander Clara	Castilian	-¿Y qué pasa con Manu?	-What about Manu?	He leans in, interested. Clara looks at him, gestures vaguely with her hand off screen

			-Con, con Manu?	-With Manu?	towards Manu.
12	Clara	Castilian	No pasa nada con Manu	Nothing is going on with Manu.	Clara shrugs dismissively.
13	Ander Clara	Castilian	-Cuidalo eh? -Claro, ¿Por qué?	-Take care of him. -Sure. Why?	People in the background are moving equipment
14	Ander Clara	Castilian	-Porque voy con el -¿Dónde?	-I go with him. -Where?	They look at each other, serious expressions.
15	Ander	Castilian	Quiero decir que estamos en el mismo equipo, que me importa.	We're on the same team, he means a lot to me.	Ander chuckles. Clara touches her hair, looks away.
16	Clara	Castilian	Claro.	Sure, sure.	More people join the conversation behind them.
17	Ander	Castilian	Eres una princesa vergonzosa.	You're a bashful princess.	Ander looks intently at Clara, who has looked away and smiling at someone else, clearly suddenly not able to hear Ander.
18	Ander	Castilian	Si no fuera porque estás embarazada	Were you not pregnant	Clara looks back down at her crossword.
19	Ander	Castilian	Diría…	I would say…	Ander looks away, smiling wistfully, Clara looks up at him
20	Clara	Catalan	No m'ho facis això,	Don't do this to me, Ander.	Ander mimes something about a cup of coffee to someone off-screen.
21	Clara	Catalan	Aquesta tancada d'ulls insistent	The way you close your eyes,	The camera continues to zoom in on the pair, Clara looking intently at Ander.
22	Clara	Catalan	I aquest somriure	And that smile…	Clara and Ander are both smiling.

23	Clara	Catalan	Que a mi m'agraden els homes complicats Ander.	I like complicated men, Ander.	Clara runs her fingers through her hair and looks back at her crossword. Ander drinks his coffee, oblivious, Then they smile at each other.

In this scene, Clara is sitting alone under a tree, while in the background members of the film crew are milling around, talking and moving equipment. Ander joins Clara and they briefly discuss the crossword she is doing and the nature of her (platonic) relationship with Manu, before they take turns to utter a few sentences about their feelings for each other, which the other person apparently does not hear. This device is reminiscent of a theatrical soliloquy, in which a character shares their unspoken thoughts with the audience but not with the other characters on stage. The presence of the crew working behind them also reminds viewers of the artificiality of this film within a film, even in this sweet, sincere scene. One way in which the English subtitles could contribute thematically and stylistically to this scene would be to change the position of the subtitles on screen when they begin their soliloquys. When they speak to themselves, in rows 17 to 23, the subtitles could stay on their half of the screen, to indicate that their scene partner cannot hear them. In a nod to anime-style subtitles, the subtitles could thus contribute to character development by showing their shyness with each other, both fearing that their feelings are unrequited. It would also fit into the title of the film, which emphasises the presence of subtitles. While in other scenes language variation hints at characters' changing emotions, in this scene a similar effect could be achieved by the appearance of the subtitles, rather than their content. Throughout the film, it is Clara and Ander's scenes together that are the most playful, with happy montages, and a scene showing snow falling inside as Clara reminisces about the time they spend together. These little touches bring to mind what it feels like to be falling in love. These subtitles could therefore fit into this playful aesthetic.

Figure 36: Ander's soliloquy, original subtitles

Figure 37: Clara's soliloquy, original subtitles

Figure 38: Ander's soliloquy, alternative subtitles

Figure 39: Clara's soliloquy, alternative subtitles.

Bearing in mind Romero Fresco's suggestions for Alternative Filmmaking (2013) the position of these alternative subtitles was carefully considered in order not to clash with the *mise en scène*. Given the change of position, which might take viewers by

surprise, I did not want to make reading any more challenging than necessary. Thus, On Ander's side, the subtitles were placed against the dark fabric of his jeans, rather than the pale areas of the grass or his arms. On Clara's side, the subtitles can be a little higher, against her scarf, rather than her pale jeans below or her t-shirt above. Of course, by changing the colour of the subtitle these issues of legibility could be avoided and more of the screen could be available for placement. However, since this change in positioning for the soliloquys comes halfway through the scene, because they have up until this point been in conversation with each other, and because the emotional atmosphere is one of tenderness and tentativeness, I argue that it is less aesthetically jarring to maintain the white font.

The TA experience of film watching does not include language variation to anywhere near the extent that the SA experience does either in general, or in this particular film, as it is almost certainly inaudible to them and often unmarked. This particular scene could benefit from using creative subtitles in a way that is not about marking language variation or providing more information, but is a stylistic intervention. This is in harmony with the title of the film and makes more of a feature of the subtitles, drawing attention to the materiality and filmmaking process which is inseparable from the story being told. In this instance, the subtitles are not compensating for lost language variation but are adding artistic value.

7.4. Conclusion

Cesc Gay uses language variation in *V.O.S.* to simultaneously create and dismantle verisimilitude, to augment character and plot development and to disrupt the film-watching experience. Thinking about language leads one to think about the way we express ourselves and tell stories. Perhaps the linguistic context that surrounds the filmmaker lends itself to making people think a little more about the way in which they express themselves. The mentions of language in the dialogue provide opportunities to draw attention to the way thoughts and sentences are being crafted, the way we script ourselves in real life. However, the English subtitles do not mark language variation, and the references to it in both the visual elements and the dialogue are not enough to fully communicate it to the viewer.

The viewer is kept at a distance from the narrative, and is reminded by the very title of the existence of language variation, and of the fact that they are watching a subtitled film. Multimodal analysis has brought to light many visual and verbal ways that the viewer is playfully wrong-footed, and has shown how language variation is one such device that complements the other ways this has been done. Since this is so overt, and subtitles are even part of the film's name, the traditional idea that the viewer should ideally be able to forget that they are reading subtitles, that they should be as subtle and unobtrusive as possible, seems to go entirely against what this film attempts to do. Therefore, it is not really necessary to follow the rules of conventional subtitling. In fact, more creative or overt English subtitles would actually fit in better with the overall dynamic of the film. As Cesc Gay wanted to hint at the "lie" of film-making (Sanchez, 2009) there is no need to be concerned that subtitles will impede the suspension of disbelief. Because of its focus on the process of filmmaking, and the fact that there is no "original version" free of subtitles, we can conclude that the traditional "unobtrusive" style of subtitling is not necessary here. The film challenges the audience, and a more challenging type of subtitling may be suited to the film. If a balance could be struck between maintaining the style of the film and adding too many complications and overwhelming the viewer, the translated subtitles could add something to the original film. Just as the three languages present become four in translation, more creative subtitles could mean that the film provides insight not just into the process of filmmaking, but the process of translating that film as well. In terms of specific strategies, colour-coding would be too disruptive, given the rapid and extremely frequent instances of codeswitching. One solution would be to choose some instances where language variation plays an important role or where the other meaning-making modes are moving at a gentler pace, such as the intertitle sequences, and mark these using labels in square brackets, or to include indications of language variation at the beginning of scenes to remind the TA of its presence without distracting them too much from an already complex film. Another solution is not to translate the language variation itself in the content of the subtitles, but to reproduce some of the effects it has in their style. For instance, by changing their position on the screen, the subtitles can tap into and augment the playful way in which language variation hints at the growing romance between

Ander and Clara. Additionally, some changes could occasionally be made at a verbal level, as well as in terms of the placement or labelling of the subtitle, to make the different languages more obvious to the TA, for example by changing “Euskadi” to “Basque” which is more frequently used in English, or by maintaining the name of Bilbao’s famous football team instead of generalising. For most films, including the other two case studies in this thesis, it is advisable to choose one coherent technique for marking language variation, such as colour coding. However, given the experimental nature of this film and the way it frequently disrupts the narrative space, a mixture of techniques including the labelling and change of positioning discussed above could be used together, in order to draw attention further to the filmmaking and translation process.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

8.1 Overview

Traditional subtitling operates within a system that imposes strict norms and regulations, and greatly reduces the creative options available for translators. This means that the translation of multilingual films presents a particular challenge, because the limitations of conventional subtitling mean that it is difficult to convey linguistic features and nuances. The principal aim of this thesis has been to contribute to our understanding of the functions of multilingualism in cinema, particularly in a Catalan context, and to discuss strategies to render multilingualism in subtitling. This can show how subtitling in general has more to offer and can be used more creatively, as part of a filmmaker's creative toolkit.

Chapter One introduced the dominant norms in subtitling, and illustrated that the established industry conventions, which require subtitles to be "invisible" in order not to distract from the image, lead to loss of nuance, style and content from film dialogue. Recent research, however, has proven that these norms are unnecessarily conservative on two counts. Firstly, it has shown that viewers are often interested in more informative subtitles than those that are available in the mainstream film industry. Secondly, it has demonstrated that the advances in and increased use of technology mean that we have become so used to interacting with screens in our daily lives that we have the improved cognitive processing skills necessary to read these more comprehensive subtitles; indeed subtitles have been found to divert our attention from the image less than was previously thought. There is scope, and demand, for subtitles which are innovative in terms of both form and content, that provide more information in visually exciting ways. The growth in fansubbing demonstrates that there is a market for subtitles that provide more dynamic, creative solutions which are far more Source-oriented. However, professional subtitlers are rarely provided with the time or resources necessary to devise creative or innovative strategies. AVT is usually outsourced post-production, rather than being treated as part of the creative process, but Romero-Fresco's accessible filmmaking concept proves that subtitles can be part of the production process from the beginning, rather than an afterthought, and that this can result in subtitles that are more suitable to a film's style or subject matter.

Multilingual films represent an area that would benefit from more considered subtitling. They challenge the idea of translation as the transfer from one monolingual text to another, and draw attention to the myriad ways multilingualism exists in society. Chapter Two discussed the functions of multilingualism in films, from characterisation, to comedy, to conflict. Multilingualism has recently become much more prevalent in mainstream cinema, as directors seek to represent different cultures and communities more authentically. As a result, many original films include part-subtitling, and translation has become more visible in cinema. However, when it comes to subtitling for foreign audiences, this effort is wasted as multilingual films tend to be given subtitles that do not draw attention to language variation, so the many effects of multilingualism in the original film are lost to the TA. There are many techniques available for subtitling multilingualism, including colour coding, italics, or explicit attribution, and an understanding of the roles that language variation can play in films is necessary for the elaboration of different strategies.

Chapter Three introduced the specific context of Catalan cinema, which reflects a society in which bilingualism and language choice have entailed many different meanings throughout history. This chapter discussed the significance of the Catalan language in political as well as social spheres, especially its connection to the independence movement. Elements of the traditions of Catalan cinema, which values literary heritage, and often features an interrogation of the region's past, or features Barcelona as a modern, outward looking city, can be found in the three films selected as case studies, which were chosen because they represent a wide variety of themes, styles and settings within the context of Catalan cinema.

Chapter Four introduced elements from Film Studies in order to analyse the different meaning-making methods at the filmmaker's disposal, and stressed the need to look at the film as a whole when discussing translation, rather than analysing subtitles in isolation. An awareness of the wider cultural context is also necessary when evaluating the significance of language variation, and how, or indeed if, it should be conveyed in subtitles. The methodology therefore combined broad contextual analysis with detailed multimodal analysis in order to contextualise instances of language variation as a meaning-making tool that works within a cultural tradition, and so put forward translation strategies that would convey this to the TA.

The case studies all showed multilingualism working in different ways. The following section will discuss the approaches to language variation and the strategies that could be used to reflect them.

8.2 Approaches to Language Variation in the Case Studies

In the years 2009-2012, when the films were made, Catalan seemed to be pulled in two different directions. On the one hand, the growing independence movement meant that Catalan national and cultural identity could be intensely political, but on the other hand the use of the Catalan language appeared to be becoming more widespread in the sense that it was no longer seen in terms of authenticity, as an ethnolinguistic marker, but was being picked up by new speakers who may or may not see themselves as "Catalan". The films' approaches to language variation range from individual, to societal, to political, and from playful, to subversive, to confrontational.

This issue of given names and place names is evident in each of the films. Proper nouns present an opportunity to convey multilingualism through subtitling by transcribing the names in their original languages. Even if language variation is not otherwise marked, the presence of names in different languages can give a hint to the language change going on around them. This occurs in all three films with different effects. For instance, in *Pa negre* the change from "Andreu" to "Andrés" is the only indication in the subtitles of the change to a Castilian-speaking environment. It is a symbol of the protagonist's transformation, and also brings in wider connotations of the oppression and prohibition of Catalan under Franco, and the "lost children of Francoism" who were abducted from Republican families and adopted by supporters of the Regime. Proper nouns also have a political dimension in *Fènix 11.23*. During the hearing the prosecutor addresses Ferran as "Fernando" and refers to Platja d'Aro (a Catalan seaside town) as "Playa de Aro". This indicates the power dynamic between Castilian, the language of the state, represented here by the police and the justice system, and Catalan, the language of the protagonists, which does not have official status in Madrid, where the hearing takes place. Here the English subtitles transcribe the change to "Fernando" but translate "Playa de Aro" back to "Platja d'Aro", striking a balance between conveying Clara's linguistic power play and resisting the Castilianisation of Catalan place names. In *V.O.S.* names in various

languages are discussed in relation to a new baby and a new school, thus in a more optimistic sense than the other two films. The focus is not on the politics of names but on the more personal significance of identity, particularly Basque identity. The repetition of the names in different languages also contributes to building the impression of two separate conversations that appear to flow as one, adding to the contrived, constructed style of the script. The characters themselves articulate that they are considering names in different languages, so some of the language variation is explained in the co-text. Even so, the transcription in the subtitles of the names in Basque, Catalan and Castilian maintains some of the linguistic richness of the dialogue. In these films, language variation in the form of proper nouns touches on identity at a personal and political level, and is one instance of language variation that is maintained in subtitles across all three films.

All three of the films also portray the phenomenon of accommodation, each with different approaches. In *Pa negre* it is included as a way of subverting audience expectations about the behaviours of Catalan speakers versus Castilian speakers in the context of the Civil War genre. Rather than depicting Catalan speakers switching to Castilian, as is much more common even today, and would be unsurprising in a post Civil War environment with its accompanying stark power dynamic, Villaronga instead portrays a Guardia Civil officer who switches to Catalan to accommodate the young Andreu, and moreover tries to comfort him. Since the language variation is not marked in the subtitles, the TA does not fully appreciate the significance of the exchange, but they are given signals of the Guardia Civil officer's unexpected kindness towards Andreu through other channels, notably his body language and the content of his dialogue. Moreover, one of the effects of accommodation in the ST is to dissolve boundaries, and so to mark language variation would be counter-productive since it would add a visual division, the nuances of which are unlikely to be appreciated by the TA. Villaronga's challenge to viewers' expectations would be undone by subtitles that created a visual difference between the Catalan and Castilian dialogue. Such a division would reinforce the division between Spain and Catalonia, Republicans and Fascists, that the films works to dissolve, with its depictions of the corrupt, greedy, scheming Catalan landowners and the kindly Castilian-speaking officer. The counter-intuitive nature of accommodation in *Pa negre* is indicative of

the use of languages throughout the film, and fits in with other stylistic and thematic decisions that dismantle expectations of the Civil War genre. The strategy of leaving linguistic variation unmarked in this exchange can be extended to the film as a whole. The film's pared-down, mournful, subtle aesthetics would not be complemented by subtitles that drew too much attention to themselves. Therefore, conventional subtitles that do not mark language variation are suitable for this film.

Fènix 11.23 presents accommodation with more clear-cut political intent, to illustrate the diglossic position of Catalan within Catalonia and to strengthen support for Èric's position as a defender of Catalan. It is shown in both social situations and official legal environments. It feeds in to the status of Catalan in Spain as a whole, in which it is not an official language in Spain, only Catalonia. Given the subject matter of the film, and its intention to raise awareness of Èric's story and his cause, it is important to mark accommodation as part of a general strategy of distinguishing Catalan and Castilian using informative subtitles. Colour coding would suit this film because it is a simple way of differentiating between the languages, which creates a visual differentiation that mirrors the divisions in the plot. By assigning white text to Catalan, as it is the default colour for subtitles, and yellow text to Castilian, the subtitles could contribute to the way other elements of the film position the viewer alongside the Catalan protagonist and hero.

Accommodation is shown more explicitly in *V.O.S.* when Clara explains that she had been trying to speak Castilian around Ander because, as he had recently arrived from outside Catalonia, she had assumed he would not understand Catalan. This type of assumption is commonplace in Catalonia and has been the subject of various government campaigns encouraging speakers to "share the Catalan language", for instance. Vicky's instruction to "speak Catalan, he understands" is reminiscent of these campaigns. This exchange plays a part in creating a sense of contrived artificiality in the way the characters relate to one another, and the use of multiple languages is a way of disrupting the narrative flow and the sense of verisimilitude throughout the film. Thus multilingualism, so often assumed to contribute to realism, can also highlight the artificiality of filmmaking and distance the viewer. This film would therefore be well-suited to visually dynamic subtitles that call attention to themselves, and by extension to the process of filmmaking and translation. This film

could benefit from various different strategies for subtitling at different times, since the changes in style would disrupt the flow of the "story" and highlight the process of translation, similar to the ways the dialogue and *mise en scène* interrupt the narrative flow and highlight the process of filmmaking. These varying strategies could include explicit attribution in brackets, maintaining the presence of CBEs, and changing the position of subtitles on the screen, to complement the emotional atmosphere of some scenes.

The films are suited to very different overall subtitling strategies, but there are smaller verbal considerations that can be implemented in each of the films, in order to reflect the ST themes more fully. For instance, in *Pa negre* the TT translates the Castilian word "ahora" (now) to "today" and in this scene some of the post war specificity is removed, since it removes the implicit contrast between "now" and "then". In the context of the film, which comments on the human cost of war at a personal rather than a political level, this small change is appropriate. If a translator did wish to maintain an era-specific element, they could opt for "now", "nowadays", or even "these days" to emphasise a sense of social upheaval. The scene featuring the mother of Núria Cadenas in *Fènix 11.23* increases the sense of peril in the ST. It could have more impact in the TT if a couple of small changes were made, by including the words "without evidence" and by modifying the sentence structure. Meanwhile in *V.O.S.* the presence of Basque language and culture could be more obvious to the TA if the word "Euskadi" was changed to "Basque Country" which is more familiar to an English-speaking audience, and if the football team Athletic Bilbao was mentioned by name in the subtitles instead of using a generalisation. Even when there is no opportunity or need for subtitles to be presented any differently, their contents can still be carefully considered in order to reflect voices and cultures and thematic elements as fully as possible, even just by changing a few words.

8.3 Application and Practicalities for Subtitling

It is tempting to interpret films containing minority languages as making some kind of political statement. This thesis has shown that while this can be the case, the functions of multilingualism in such films are incredibly varied. The translation of multilingual films represents an opportunity to show how subtitles can play a more

active role in the elaboration of a film's stylistic or thematic content, particularly in films that engage with the topics of filmmaking or multilingualism, such as *V.O.S.*, or films whose plot depends upon the presence of multilingualism, like *Fènix 11.23*. But even in multilingual films, subtitles that draw attention to language variation would not always be felicitous, for instance, in *Pa negre*. Therefore, rather than argue that multilingualism should always be marked in translation, this thesis has demonstrated that its functions should ideally be understood in relation to the film's content, themes and visual style, and strategies should be devised that suit each individual film. Some of the strategies put forward could be applied to other films where appropriate, such as the positioning of subtitles on screen, or colour-coding.

I acknowledge that many subtitlers would be reluctant to consider unconventional techniques, for a variety of reasons, including having insufficient time or remuneration. Moreover, given that many subtitlers work on a freelance basis, they may not be permitted to do so or may not wish to take creative risks that may affect their future work prospects. As Ellender notes, any non-standard techniques may be perceived as reflecting badly upon the competence of the subtitler (2015: 7). Translators are understandably resistant to unorthodox strategies or to mixing techniques for fear of being perceived as incompetent. In the case of *V.O.S.* especially, it is unlikely that the mix of ideas suggested here would be implemented by many subtitlers. However, if translation and subtitling were to be considered as part of the creative filmmaking process, in line with Romero Fresco's accessible filmmaking concept, then it would be easier to use such techniques. Of course, translators and subtitlers will not have the opportunity to undertake detailed contextual and multimodal analysis in the workplace, nor should they be expected to. However, if the filmmaking and subtitling processes were more connected, and subtitling was seen as part of the creative process, they could have access to a more detailed understanding of the film overall without the need for extensive research.

8.4 Areas for Future Research

This thesis has contributed to the growing field of research into multilingual films that goes beyond the "polyglot" categorisation. It has discussed the various functions of multilingualism in Catalan cinema, and further research could certainly look into this area more extensively: research into a wider corpus of films would be very

useful. It would also be useful to interview filmmakers and subtitlers working in this field, as this would strengthen any conclusions reached in contextual analysis, particularly concerning filmmakers' overall intentions, and which strategies subtitlers perceive as available to them.

The ratios of language use in these films favoured Catalan in the case of *Pa negre* and *Fènix 11.23*, and were more or less equal in *V.O.S*. It would be interesting to compare these studies with films that included more Castilian than Catalan. Investigations into films containing Spain's other official languages, Galician and Basque, could apply similar principles to build a picture of Spain's linguistic landscape as represented in films. Additionally, analysis could be undertaken in terms of constraints and restrictions in subtitling. More detailed research into how typefaces can be utilised in subtitling could broaden our understanding of the graphics of subtitling and the possibilities they present. In terms of the subtitling strategies discussed in this thesis, reception and eye-tracking studies could be carried out in relation to Catalan multilingual films in order to assess their efficacy.

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